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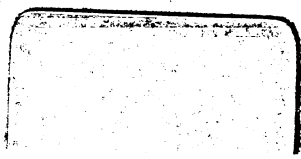
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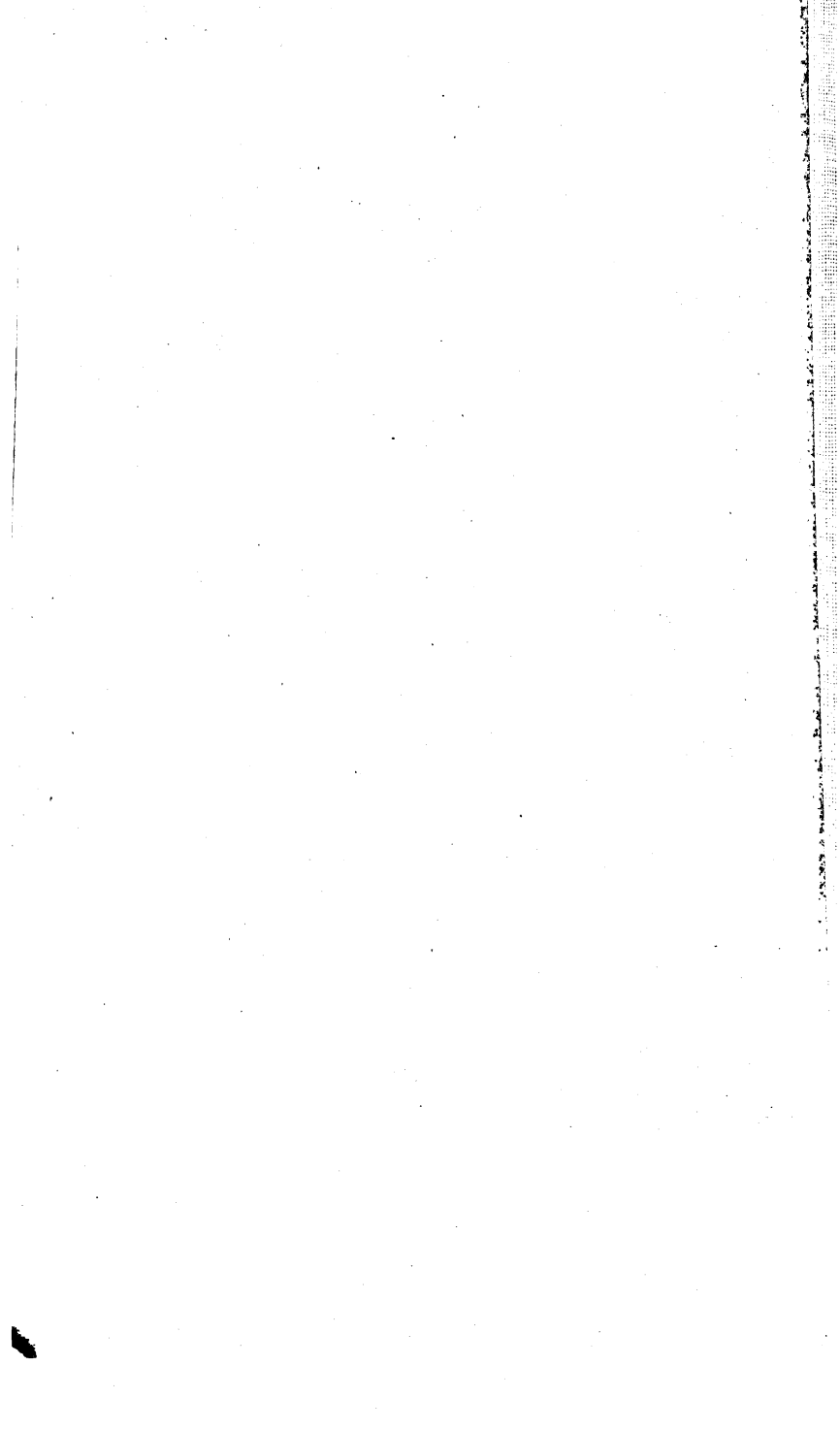
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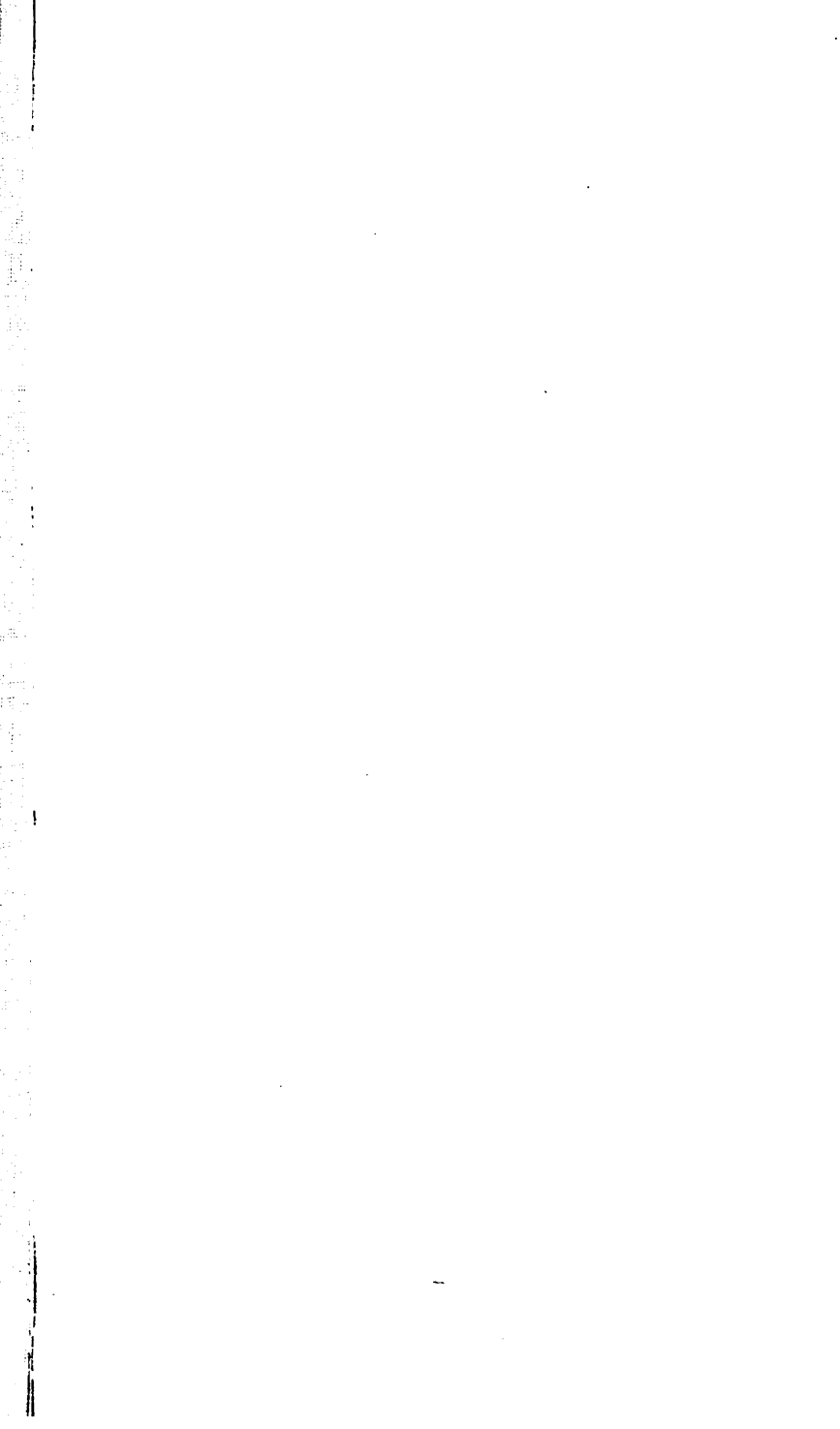
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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,
FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

10

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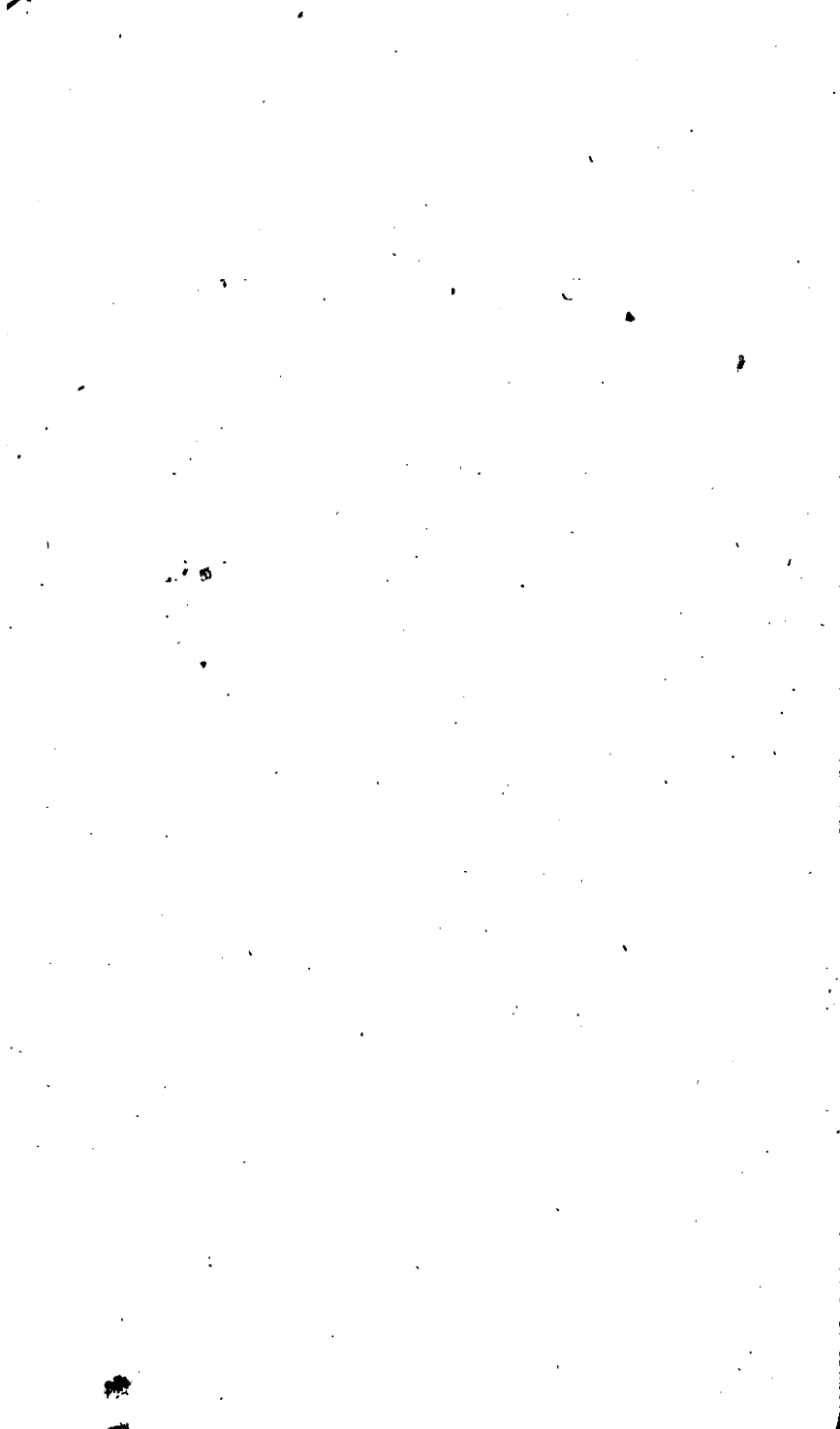
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EXPLANATION

OF THE

FRONTISPIECE.

ON one side of an Altar, supposed to be in the Temple of Concord, is an English Baron; on the other, a Scotch Warrior; in the middle, Britannia, with the Cap of Liberty and the Union-Flag, in the action of reconciling the two Chieftains. The Englishman holds the Regiam Majestatem, which is the oldest code of the Scotch law; and the other Chief lays his Hand upon Glanville, of the same date in the English law. ---- On the Altar, a Bas-relief, of Boys, representing UNITY.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

I SHALL, without adopting any particular system hitherto published, lay before my readers the earliest accounts which have come to our hands of the inhabitants of SCOTLAND.

Several histories of Scotland have advanced circumstances, some not only beyond all credibility, but impossible, in the nature of things, supposing them to have happened, that they could have come to the knowledge of the writers who handed them down as facts. A few glimmerings of ancient history appear, indeed, in the rude remains of antiquity; but they are faint, and matters rather of

*Conjectures
relating to
the Celtic
tongue,*

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curi-

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curiosity than information. The proof brought from a similarity of ancient languages is much more instructive and certain, because founded upon facts which cannot be mistaken. It is to this sort of proof, and not to the wild dreams of the Irish and Northern antiquaries, that I must chiefly rely for all the lame information I am able to give my reader of the origin of the Scots.

The language of the ancient Celts, while pure and uncorrupted, seems to have been spread almost through the then known world; and it is, perhaps, the mother-language of the dead ones over all Europe, and the greatest part of Asia. But the pure Celtic appears to have suffered many alterations through the progress of time and of letters; and above all, from the intermixture of the inhabitants of several countries, by which the provincial idiom of one country was adopted by the people of another; and every province or nation having a different articulation, the system of the living and dead languages, as they now stand, was formed by the assistance of grammar and reasoning; but on the whole, the radical language, however disguised or altered, is Celtic.

Wherever this language is spoken in its greatest simplicity, we may fairly presume that
the

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the inhabitants of that country are the descendants of the primitive Celts, who lived there before the provincial alterations I have already mentioned, took place. The language of the inhabitants of the Western isles and coasts of Scotland being more simple than that of either the Welch or Irish, affords a strong presumption that it approaches nearest to the ancient Celtic.

The old inhabitants of Britain were called Guydhelians, and were, in fact, the aborigines of the island, their language being the same with that of the Celts. For this information we are obliged to the Welch antiquaries*, and I can see

and the
Guydhelians.

* "As for the inhabitants of Cornwall and Armoric Britain, although they live among English and French, their language shews, as you see plainly by this book, that they were anciently Britons. But you will, doubtless, be at a loss for that infinite number of exotic words, which (besides the British) you'll find in the Irish of Scotland and Ireland. There are for this, as seems to me, two reasons: I say, as seems, because we have no authorities of histories or other means, that may lead us into the truth, but comparing of languages. In the first place, I suppose that the ancient colonies of Ireland were two distinct nations, co-inhabiting, Guydhels and Scots. That the Guydhels were old inhabitants of this island, and that the Scots came out of Spain. So far, therefore, as their language agrees, either with us or the other Britons, the words are Guydhelian: and for the rest, they must be also either Guydhelian, lost by our ancestors, or else ancient Scottish. So the second reason for their having so many unknown words is, for that the Welch, Cornish, and Armoric Britons, have lost some part of their old language (in regard they were for the space of almost five hundred years, viz. from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Valentinian III. under the government of the people of Rome) as I have shewed more

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see no manner of reason to doubt that the Welch made use of registers and letters long before

particularly in the first section of this book. And thus 'tis possible a great many of those words which seem to us exotic, may be old British, though we do not know them; according to those examples I have instanced in P. 7. C. I. Nor was it only North-Britain that these Guydhelians have in the most ancient times inhabited, but also England and Wales: whether before our time, or co-temporary with us, or both, is what cannot be determined. But to me it seems most probable, that they were here before our coming into the island; and that our ancestors did, from time to time, force them Northward: and that from the Kintire (or Foreland) of Scotland, where there is but four leagues of sea; and from the country of Galloway, and the Isle of Man, they passed over into Ireland; as they have that way returned, backward and forward, often since. Neither was their progress into this island out of a more remote country than Gaul; now better known by the names of the kingdom of France, the Low Countries, and the Low Dutch.

“ Having now related what none have hitherto made mention of, viz. First, That the old inhabitants of Ireland consisted of two nations, Guydhelians and Scots. Secondly, that the Guydhelians descended from the most ancient Britons, and the Scots from Spain. Thirdly, that the Guydhelians lived in the most ancient times, not only in North-Britain (where they still continue intermixed with Scots, Saxons, and Danes) but also in England and Wales. And, Fourthly, that the said Guydhelians of England and Wales were inhabitants of Gaul before they came into this island. Having been so bold, I say, as to write such novelties, and yet, at the same time, to acknowledge that I have no written authority for them; I am obliged to produce what reasons I have; and that, as the extent of this letter requires, in as few words as may be.

“ I have already proved at large, in the first and second sections of this book, that our language agrees with a very great part of their's; and in the Irish grammar, you'll also find that the genius, or nature of their language, in their changing the initial letters in the same manner, &c. is also agreeable to the Welch. And as, by collating the languages, I have found one part of the Irish reconcilable to the Welch; so by a diligent perusal

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before they were known either to the Guydhelians, the Irish, or the Scots: for, though
the

rusal of the New Testament, and some manuscript-papers I received from the learned doctor Edward Brown, written in the language of the Cantabrians, I have had a satisfactory knowledge to the affinity of the other part with the Old Spanish: for tho' a great deal of that language be retained in the present, yet much better preserved do we find it amongst the Cantabrians. Now, my reason for calling the British-Irish Guydhelians, and those of Spain, Scots, is, because the old British manuscripts call the Picts Fitchid-Guydhelians; and the Picts were Britons without question, as appears not only by the name of them in Latin and Irish, but by the names of the mountains and rivers in the Lowlands of Scotland, where they inhabited; and there, probably, they are yet (though their language be lost) intermixed with Scots, Strat-clyd Britons, old Saxons, Danes, and Normans. As for the entitling the Spanish-Irish, Scots, there wants no authority; the Irish authors having constantly called the Spanish colony, Kin Skuit, or the Scottish nation: no more therefore need be said to prove the Guydhelians ancient Britons. And as to the Scots, 'tis only necessary we should produce examples of the affinity of the old Spanish with the present-Irish, which we have not room to do here, but in those few words following, where the Scottish-Irish words lead, and the Cantabrian (which is the old Mountain or Pyrenean-Spanish) are written after the English interpretation.

“ A, acha, a dike or mound, a bank; acha, a rock. Adhark, a horn; adarra, a horn, also a bough. Agharta, deaf; gor gothor. Aile, shame; ahal, chalque. Airneis (aivneis) cattle; avre, abrec. Alga, noble; algo (see the IRISH Dictionary). Aodhaire, a shepherd. Arza; ardi, a sheep. Aoil, the mouth; ahol, aholic. MAT. 4. 4. 12. 34. 15. 11. Aon, good, excellent; on. Ar, our; ure, gure. Ar, slaughter; hara, heri. ACT. 8. 32. Arcoir, near, neighbouring; hurco. Aras (atheras) a house, a building; etchera. Arfac, old; gaharra. Arc, and arcan, a pig; urrum. MAT. 8. 31. 32. Asaith, enough; asco. Asnic, milk; ezne, ezne. Ahafe, a wood; hitz, hitzac. Athair, a father; aita, aita. Atticha, to desire; esca. Avail, death; hivil, hil. Bacadh, baca, to see, to look. Bagust, bequia, the eye. Bal, arbal, if, if so that; baldin. Balla, a skull; bull, bull-hegar. MAT. 27. 33. Banailte, a nurse; banlitu, ballitu. Beach, beixin, a bee; abex-
on,

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the Welch call themselves the ancient Britons †, they can only be termed so in contradistinction

on, Hisp. Beas, a hand; bethe. Beat, a little; batzu. Biogherax, a two year old heifer. Bigawn, the second, also a heifer. HEB. 9. 13. Birtan, soon, quickly; bertan. Brek; pyed, motley. Bragado, a pyed ox. Hisp. Brog, a shoe; abarca, a wooden shoe. Hisp. Brugh, a town; burgua. Caill, injury, damage; cailte. ACTS 27. 10. Cailleach, a cock. Oilloac, a hen. Can, until; aiceno. Cruineacht, wheat; garia, garian. Cealg (ceilgin) deceit; celaten. Cean, a head; gaine, in compound words. Ceard, a tinker; acetrero. Ceo, mist. Hea, and quea, smoke. Cia (ciaan) who; ceinea, ceinec. Ciocar, a ravenous cur; chacurra. Cioghar, wherefore; cerga, cergatic. Cionas, how; kein. Cior, a jaw; cara, a face. Hisp. Colla (codlah) sleep; loo. Comhar (o comhar, Lat. é regione) comarca, a country. E'as, not (in compound words) ez. Eafadh, a disease; eritas. Eafgar, a fall; eror. Fadadh (and 'ada') to stretch; heda. Fearrya, and 'earrya, male, masculine; arra. Foeraich, wagers; foriac. Vid. F. S. p. 22. col. 1. Gach, all; guizia, guzia. Gadaiche, a thief; gaichta. Gaoie, a lye; guo, gue, guric. Ger, sound; garraza. Thaire (yaire) laughter; barri, iri. Ghearg, red; gorria. Gheunav, to make; equin. Ghocar (docar) difficult; gogorra. Gigilt, to tickle."—Preface to Llhuyd's Glossography, or his Archæologia Britannica.

Mr. Llhuyd mentions many other strong similarities between the two languages; but the foregoing instances are sufficient to establish all I contend for.

† As a great part of what I have here advanced depends upon the authority of the Welch antiquities, it is necessary that they should be established before I proceed farther. About forty-five or forty-six years ago, Mr. Wanley and Dr. Hicks laid claim to the characters in which the Welch antiquities are written, as belonging to the Saxons and the other Northern nations. Was this claim admitted to be true, the authority of the Welch antiquities must be brought very low; for it is certain that the Saxons had no letters before the time of Augustine the monk, about the year 600; and that the Irish had not so much as an alphabet till they received it from St. Patrick, who went from Britain to Ireland in the fifth century. The learned Mr. Llhuyd, in his letter to the Welch, prefixed to his Archæologia Britannica, refuted both those

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distinction to the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and the other nations whose posterities now people, by far, the greatest

those opinions with great strength of evidence; but as they had been maintained, and that pretty warmly, by two of his intimate friends, Mr. Wanley and Dr. Hicks, when he translated his preface from the Welch, he omitted all the part relating to that controversy which I shall give to the reader.

“ We having for seven or eight ages disused these ancient characters, and the English having of late printed some old Saxon books in them, they lay claim to those letters, and have given them the name of Saxon. On the other side, the Irish having in all ages, even to this day, used them, do pretend that they were originally Irish letters; and say, that several religious men of their nation having been sent to preach the gospel to the Saxons, taught them to write at the same time: but no person of either nation has ever mentioned that the ancient Britons also used the same letters till very lately. (Mr. Humphry Wanley) the author of the catalogue of Northern books, in his Latin preface, after having exchanged some letters with me on this subject, and been informed that I had said we had a better right to those letters than either the Saxons or Irish, all that he has written thereon is, ‘ That the Saxons neither received these letters from the Irish nor the ancient Britons, but from Augustine the monk: ’ which is as much as to say, that the ancient Britons and Irish learned them of the Saxons. And this, the gentleman affirms (as if his word was sufficient) without vouchsafing either to produce any ancient authority, or offer any reasons of his own to prove it, taking no notice of what I had writ to him, that those letters are at this day to be seen in St. Cadwallader’s church in Anglesey, on the tomb-stone of Cadvan, king of North-Wales, who fought against the Saxons and Augustine the monk, at the battle of Bangor-Is-Coed.

“ (Dr. Hicks) the author of the *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, has given an instance of the like ingenuity and impartiality, where he asserts, ‘ That the manuscripts in the Bodleian library, which I mentioned in p. 226 of this book, are Saxon,’ though it is impossible but he must know them to be British by the interlineated words; for though he understands neither Welch nor Irish, yet he must know those words to be neither Saxon, Gothic, nor Norman.” Ibid.

part

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part of this island. The Celts, the Gauls, the Cimbrians, and other nations upon the continent, some time before the Incarnation invaded Britain from the most adjoining parts of the continent; and driving the Guydhelians northward, took possession of the southern parts of Britain, and were the Britons whom Julius Cæsar found here at the time of his invasion.

This account is fairly deducible, not only from the words of Cæsar, but from the authority of the Welch themselves, which, in the present question, ought to have the greatest weight, especially as it is a testimony which, in some degree, affects their own antiquity, and nothing but the force of truth could have brought to light.

We shall therefore venture to lay it down as a probable, if not certain, fact, that the Guydhelians, or the antient inhabitants of Britain, were forced northward by invasions from the continent, in the same manner as those invaders were afterwards driven northwards by the Romans. Many vestiges of antiquity serve to establish this opinion. The Belgic Britons imported with them that horrid Druidism which is described by Cæsar, and is no other than a corruption of Pythagorism, equally repugnant to the principles of civil polity and of common humanity. Their temples were
stupen-

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stupendous, their religion bloody, and their learning jargon, as appears from antiquity, and the best accounts we have of their constitution and government. But the Guydheli-ans, so far as we know, were infected with none of these circumstances. Their religion seems to have been purely patriarchal. No ashes of human or brute sacrifices are found about their places of interment, or devotion; no ornaments of gold or silver are dug from their graves; and the places which are supposed to have been sacred to their devotions, are distinguished only by a few rude stones, void of all that stupendous ostentation displayed in the monuments of their Belgic successors. Their posterity, or the people whom we may suppose to be their most unmixed posterity, spoke a language which either was real Celtic, or more free from adulterations than that of the Belgic Britons.

Government of the
Belgic Britons.

'At the time of the first invasion of Britain by the Romans, under Caius Julius Cæsar, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ, the Belgic Britons had great connections with the continent, which sometimes furnished them with princes; but no mode of succession seems then to have been established. Though, during the time of peace, they were divided into separate principalities, yet, in time of war, they formed one political confederacy. At the head

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of this they placed that prince among them, who was most eminent for power, abilities, and courage; and this distinguished lot fell, at the time of Cæsar's second invasion, upon Calpibelan.

How far the inhabitants of Scotland were concerned in this confederacy, does not, to me, appear. It is certain, from the words of Cæsar, that it was very extensive, because we perceive the Britons excusing themselves from sending to Cæsar all the hostages he demanded, on account of the distance from whence they were to be brought. I am inclined to believe that common danger made a common cause; and that the Caledonians, who were the then inhabitants of Scotland, sent their quota of troops to serve against the Romans. Notwithstanding this, there is great reason for supposing the manners, the language, the arms, and even the constitutions of the Caledonians to have been very different from those of the Belgic, or Southern Britons. It seems from the words of Tacitus to be unquestionable, that those Caledonians, or by whatever name the inhabitants of Scotland were then known, were not of the same original with the Belgic, or Southern Britons; and, notwithstanding all the conjectures of modern writers, I can see no reason for not believing them to have been the ancestors of the
bulk

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bulk of the Highlanders of Scotland at this day, and as such I will consider them. It is true, the Caledonians themselves might have particular distinctions of people among them, arising either from their septs or families; and nothing is more probable than that, as the Scythians were part of the Celts, there might be a particular sept among them, under the denomination of Scyt, from whence the Belgic Britons might form the word Skuit, and the Roman writers Scoti. As to the Picts, their denomination appears to have been entirely accidental, from their continuing (after they were driven northward by the Romans) to paint their bodies in the same manner as they had done among their countrymen, the Belgic Britons.

Four nations in Caledonia;

Thus, it is most reasonable to believe, Caledonia, or Scotland properly so called, was composed of four different people. First, the Caledonians, who were the original inhabitants of the country. Secondly, the Guydhelians, who were the old inhabitants of the southern parts of Britain, but were forced northwards by the Belgic invasions, and were of the same original with the Caledonians, whose name is local. Thirdly, the Kin-skuit, or the Scots, who were no other than foreign Celts, who came from the northern parts of the European Scythia, or, as Tacitus calls it, the Great Germany,

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many, and who were known by the name of Scots upon the continent, as well as in the Britannic isles. Fourthly, the Picts, who were the unsubdued part of the Belgic Britons, and very different from the other three. Though it is impossible to speak with certainty of all those people, at this distance of time, yet I think it is highly probable that the barbarous custom of painting their bodies was confined to the Picts, or the Belgic Britons alone, tho', within a century or two, the Caledonians did the same; and by this means the very name of Caledonians was sunk into that of Picts, as the name of Guydhelians had been before sunk into that of Caledonians.

As to the Scots, it is in vain to seek for any æra of their settlement in Britain. Perhaps, being better acquainted with the Roman discipline upon the continent, they acquired sufficient power to make a settlement in Britain; and, by being fed with continual supplies from the continent, their name at last swallowed up those of the other three nations. As they are always mentioned separately from the Picts, there is reason to believe those two people to have differed from one another in their manners, their dress, and in most other respects, excepting that of language, in which, as we have already observed, there was a strong affinity among all nations
of

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of Celtic original, as the Scots undoubtedly were.

Some learned men have, I know, been fond of supposing Ireland to have been the native country of the Scots; and this has been so confidently affirmed by the Irish who were vain of their own country, and by some English writers who hated the Scots, that the latter have acquiesced in that opinion, however destitute of authority, or common sense, to support it. Ireland, undoubtedly, was peopled at the time of Cæsar's two invasions; but we have no authority, from any writer of that time, which directs us to the country from whence those inhabitants came. Strabo, who wrote under Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar, and Pomponius Mela, who wrote a few years after, speak of them as a people entirely wild and barbarous; and it is highly absurd to believe those writers who inform us, that the Scots, or the old inhabitants of Ireland, came, many centuries before the Incarnation, under the conduct of Milesius, from Spain to Ireland, where they lived under regulated government, and flourished in learning, arts, and sciences.

Which was not peopled from Ireland.

The truth is, navigation, in the times before the second Punic war, was so rude, that even the most polished nations would have found it difficult

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feult to have performed a voyage from Spain directly to Ireland. It is therefore, when we consider the fimilarity of language between the Irish and the old Scots, more reasonable to believe that Ireland was first peopled from Britain; but from what part of it is another consideration. St. David's Head in South Wales, and Holy-Head in North Wales, are the two places in South Britain the nighest to Ireland; but Ireland is very seldom discernible from either: whereas there is some degree of probability in supposing Ireland to have been peopled from Galloway, or from Cantyre, in Scotland, from both which places a small boat has a clear sight of land all the way.

Though all this amounts to no more than a strong presumption, yet it is a presumption that infinitely outweighs those miserable authorities brought by the Irish in support of their chimerical antiquities; which evidently appear to be void of all foundation. Add to this, that the country of Ireland lying nearest to Scotland, is much more rich and inviting than the opposite shore of Scotland. But whatever may be in this, all authorities agree that Caledonia was the name of the northern parts of Britain; that it was inhabited by a brave and independent people; and that Liberty took there her last refuge,

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fuge, from which not all the ambition and power of Rome could entirely dislodge her.

It is foreign to my present undertaking to be particular with regard to Cæsar's two first expeditions; it is necessary, however, to take a general view of that history.

After the invasion of Britain by the Belgic Gauls, a frequent intercourse was kept up between them and the continent; by which means Julius Cæsar came to the knowledge of many particulars which facilitated his descent upon Britain. It is certain, however, that he was greatly deceived, and that he little expected to meet with a warm reception from the Britons. He imagined either to find, or to render them, a disunited people; and that his glorious conquests of those countries, from which they or their ancestors came, would strike them with terror. It is likewise certain, from several passages of Cicero, and other authors, that he expected to find great treasures in Britain. But though he was disappointed in his expectation, it is well known that the Britons had at that time, and long before, a trade with the continent; and were possessed of money or bullion, though, perhaps, they neither coined, nor passed it current in payments.

Descent of
Julius
Cæsar upon
Britain.

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The first descent of Cæsar upon Britain, is with great reason fixed to the twenty-sixth of August, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ. The Britons bravely opposed his landing, and harrassed his army in such a manner that he gladly accepted a shew of submission, to excuse his return to Gaul. In proportion as the several states of Britain had a connexion with the continent, we may suppose them to have been more or less in the interest of Cæsar; but we have no room to believe that the hostages and the submissions which he received from the Britons, were the acts of the whole island; on the contrary, they seem to have been confined to a few states in South Britain. This was far from compensating Cæsar for the great loss of shipping, if not of reputation, he suffered, through the accidents of weather, and from the resistance of the Britons. From his own account, the latter kept his legions in hourly alarms, till the season of the year, and his own interest at Rome, obliged him to return to the continent: and it is doubtful, from his relation, whether he gained any thing by his expedition, but the homage of a few states of the Belgic Britons, who, perhaps, already depended upon him or his friends on the continent. This is the more probable, as Cæsar carried over with him from Gaul to Britain one Comius, a creature of his own power, who had great interest with

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with the Belgic Britons, and was employed by Cæsar in persuading them into a submission: but the Britons had too great a sense of liberty to be thus deluded. So far from complying with the ambition of Cæsar, no more than two of their cities sent him the hostages he had demanded, though he ordered them to furnish double the number of what had been first agreed on.

But Cæsar's great credit in Rome at this time obtained him from the senate a thanksgiving of twenty days, as if his visiting Britain had been equal to victory.

While he was absent, the Britons, foreseeing that he would make another attempt upon their island, chose Cassibelan to be the head of their confederacy, preferably to Imanuentius, who was killed in the dispute, and whose son took refuge at Rome. So great an accession of interest among the Britons hastened Cæsar's preparations for a second expedition against them. He thought this a matter of such importance to his glory, which, at Rome, was the same thing as interest, that, to facilitate his descent, he altered the form of his ships, on board of which he put no fewer than five legions, besides horse; and thus he landed with safety and ease. The Britons, under Cassibelan, had taken all imaginable precautions to harass his

VOL. I. D army.

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army. They were encamped so as not to be attacked without great disadvantage on the part of Cæsar; and the storm, which damaged several of his ships, would have made any general but Cæsar despair of success. He acted, however, with that spirit and resolution which is so peculiar to his character. He repaired and fortified his fleet; and resolving not to be braved by the Britons, he drove them from their advantageous camp into woods and fastnesses, where their resistance was so long and obstinate, that Cæsar, from his own account of the expedition, seems to have been defeated. He was in a great measure obliged to the disunion among his enemies for the preservation of his glory, at this juncture. Cassibelan had a powerful faction to oppose him, which was so well supported by the friends of Rome, that in a few days that great man was deserted by all the princes of the confederacy, and obliged to defend his own dominions, which were attacked by the Romans; but not so totally ruined as to prevent Cæsar from giving him a safe and honourable peace, and withdrawing all his troops from the island.

A. peace
concluded.

We have no positive authority to affirm, that the Caledonians, who are the principal objects of this history, had any share in this glorious resistance to the fortune of Cæsar and of Rome. As their forefathers had been separated from
the

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the rest of the world, it is probable that their first invaders found them as defenceless, and as ignorant in the arts of war, as the Spaniards did the Americans; but we cannot well suppose this ignorance to have subsisted long after the Scots and the Picts were incorporated with them and the Guydhelians. It is reasonable to think that the Scots, many of whom at this time came from the continent to Ireland, as well as to Caledonia, were acquainted with the manner of fighting on the continent; and the Picts certainly had the same discipline with the Belgic Britons.

The reader is to observe, that I am now speaking of times about or after the Incarnation, when navigation was greatly improved, and when it is no absurdity to believe, that the Scots might fall upon means to transport themselves from the continent to any of the Britannic isles. When I said, that Ireland was most probably peopled from Britain, it is not to be understood that all the Scots who settled in Ireland went from Britain; it is possible some of them might come from Spain, and other parts of the continent. But I am of opinion that these were but a handful; that they settled in Ireland after the Incarnation; and that they were enabled to make good their footing there by the assistance of their countrymen, the Caledonian Scots.

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Britain independent.

We now approach to a period that brings us into the main thread of this history. It is certain, that when Cæsar retired from Britain he left no commander there, either civil or military; and Britain was, at this time, considered as being so independent, that neither the Roman senate, nor any of the powerful competitors for empire after the death of Cæsar, looked upon her as a Roman acquisition. She paid no tribute; she furnished no quota, either in men or money; and all the marks of superiority that Rome had over her, were a few prisoners whom Cæsar had carried off, who were shewn about as curiosities, for the largeness of their limbs, and the strength of their bodies. Horace and Propertius, two poets in the court of Augustus, speak of Britain as being unsubdued by the Roman army; and Cæsar's army is mentioned in Lucan (who, it is true, was no favourer of his cause, though an admirer of his abilities) as having been beaten by the Britons. Notwithstanding all this, it is certain, that after Cæsar's two descents upon Britain, their connections with the continent were much greater than they had been before. The Gauls, or their neighbours, looked upon the Belgic Britons as their countrymen; and the disputes among the Britons themselves, occasioned a large party to be formed in favour of the court of Rome. At the head of this was

Mandu-

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Mandubratius, the son of Imanuentius, the rival of the great Cassibelan. This prince put himself under the protection of the Romans, and his father had reigned over the Trinovantes (the people who inhabited Middlesex, and some of the adjacent counties) who probably considered him as their lawful sovereign. Upon his death, he was succeeded by Cynobelin, who seems to have been entirely romanised, and to have been in peaceable possession of his paternal dominions in Britain. Notwithstanding this great advantage in favour of Rome, even Augustus Cæsar, then in full possession of the Roman empire, did not venture to enforce the payment of the tribute which had been claimed by his uncle the dictator. He thought, indeed, that nothing but the conquest of Britain was wanting to complete his glory; and he set out three times at the head of large armies for that purpose, and as often dropt his design. It is true, he pretended that the situation of his affairs on the continent did not suffer him to pursue it; but whoever considers the character of Augustus, can never imagine that any thing, but the improbability of success, would have deterred him from attempting a conquest which he so ardently desired.

British history.

This conjecture is confirmed by the sentiments he entertained of this expedition towards
the

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the latter end of his reign, when he abandoned his design of invading Britain, as a measure inconsistent with true policy. His successor Tiberius was of the same opinion; and the frantic Caligula, tho' his utmost ambition was to have subdued Britain, did not attempt it. Claudius Cæsar, successor in the empire to Caligula, found the state of Britain very different from what it had been in the days of his predecessors. A great intercourse had been opened between Rome and Britain: the more southerly Britons had imported into their country many of the Roman luxuries; and the Romans, without regarding them as a people over whom they had any claim of subjection, treated them as independent, and not only traded with, but visited them; insomuch that Strabo tells us the British princes offered votive and other presents in the Capitol of Rome, and the Romans began to grow familiar with the inland parts of Britain.

Thus much I have thought proper to premise, in general, by way of introduction to the history of Scotland, without troubling the reader with the history of Gathelus, Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, and the fatal marble stone which served Jacob as a pillar. It is next to certain, that the original framers of the fable of Gathelus, sensible that the Guydhelians, or Guithelians, were the old inhabitants

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ants of Britain, forged the name Gathelus, as they did that of Scota, and manufactured their high antiquities upon that plan.

I now proceed to the body of this history, where I shall insert, for reasons the reader will find, in his progress, an account of the first forty-four kings, which later critics have considered as imaginary.

A G E.



A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.
BOOK THE FIRST.

FERGUS, commonly called the first king of Scotland, said to have reigned three hundred and thirty years before the Incarnation, is reported to have been by birth an Irishman; and we are told, that the inhabitants of Ireland were then called Scots. Be this as it may, the authors of those accounts say, that the Caledonian-Scots sent for Fergus, the son of Ferchard, from Ireland, to assist them; and accordingly Fergus landed on the islands of Ebudæ, where he confederated with the Caledonian-Scots, whose language and manners he found to be the same with those of his own countrymen. The Britons were a people, distinct from the Picts, who were called Scythians, and the ancient Caledonians, as well as the Irish-Scots; all whom they looked upon

Fergus the first.

as being no better than intruders. Coilus was then king of the Britons, and Fergus was placed at the head of the other three nations to oppose him. A battle was fought on the banks of the Down, in which Coilus was defeated and killed; and from him the province called Kyle receives its name. This victory gave Fergus the sovereignty of the Scots and Picts; but being recalled to Ireland, he was drowned in his return, at a place still called after him Knock, or Carrickfergus.

Ferithar.

Though Fergus the first left behind him two sons, Ferleg and Mainus, yet both being minors, his brother Ferithar was raised to the crown. It must be acknowledged, that all the Northern nations in early ages had a strong attachment to the collateral succession by brothers instead of sons. The Scots, however, to support the hereditary right of descent, tell us, that their ancestors made a law ordaining, ‘that
 ‘ whilst the children of their kings were infants,
 ‘ one of their kindred, who was judged most
 ‘ accomplished for the government, should sway
 ‘ the scepter in their behalf; and if he died,
 ‘ then the succession of the kingdom should
 ‘ descend to the former king’s sons.’ Ferleg, impatient to see his uncle mount the throne of Fergus, and govern his subjects with glory and moderation, demanded his crown. Ferithar referred the dispute to an assembly of the states, who confirmed him on the throne;
 and

and it was owing to the lenity of his uncle, that they did not condemn Ferleg for sedition. He was, indeed, imprisoned, but finding means to escape, he solicited, first, the Picts, and then the Britons, for assistance; but failed with both. In the mean time, Ferithar being stabbed in his bed, the blame was thrown on Ferleg; upon which he was set aside from the succession, and died in obscurity.

Ferithar was succeeded by his nephew Mainus, Mainus. who is said to have been a pious prince, and to have reigned twenty-nine years. His son Dornadil was the Scotch Nimrod, and instituted Dornadil. the laws of hunting among their Highlanders. Fordun particularizes other princes besides those mentioned, who succeeded Fergus, the son of Ferchard. He informs us, that Reuther Reuther. or Rether was the son of Dornadil, but being a minor, that his uncle Nothat was acknowledged king; and that he was killed in a battle Nothat. with his nephew, who was immediately crowned. The friends of Nothat raised a rebellion, and were headed by one Ferchard, chieftain of Kintyre and Lorn, who was routed by Doval, the leader of the Brigantes, or the Gallowaymen; upon which young Reuther married the daughter of Getus, king of the Picts. A bloody war ensued, the two chieftains were killed, the young king was taken prisoner, and the Picts were driven by the Britons to the Orkney-islands. The latter then fell upon the

Scots, and their king Oenus defeated Reuther, whom he besieged in the castle of Berigone, where he was so straitly beset, that he was forced to make his escape to Ireland; but all his faithful followers were put to the sword. Being invited over some years after, by a new generation of Scots and Picts, he put himself at their head, and was joined by Getus, king of the latter. In conjunction, they fought Syfil, king of the Britons; but neither party had reason to boast of the victory. Both, however, were so heartily tired of the war, that a peace was concluded; and Reuther settled in that part of Scotland which is called from him Retherdale or Reddedale. We are told by Fordun, that some writers pretend he was killed in an action with the Britons, in that province or district. Others say, that he reigned twenty-six years, and died in peace in the year 187 before the Incarnation, leaving behind him two sons, Thereus and Josina.

Reutha.

Thereus.

Thereus being a minor, the affairs of government were administered by his cousin Reutha, who is represented as an excellent prince, and to have brought the Scots acquainted with commerce and the arts. Thereus growing up, Reutha resigned to him the scepter; but he proved a tyrant, and his subjects rising in arms against him, he was forced to take refuge among the Britons; while one Conan acted as a kind of a temporary viceroy, with great applause.

Hear-

Hearing that Thereus was dead, he resigned the government to his brother Josina, who is said to have been an excellent botanist, and a patron of physicians. He died after a reign of twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his son Finnan, who proved a worthy prince, and made a decree, "That kings should determine or command nothing of great concern or importance without the authority of their great council." He reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by his profligate son Durstus; who, finding that his noblemen intended to dethrone him for his lewdness and wickedness, pretended to be a sincere convert to virtue; but having prevailed with the heads of the conspiracy to put themselves into his hands, he murdered them all. The surviving part of his subjects took arms, defeated, and killed him in battle; upon which the insurgents proclaimed his cousin-german Even, or Eiven, king of Scotland. In his time the Scots and Picts joined against the Britons, and this brought on a war which disposed all parties to peace. Even is praised as a strict justiciary, and an excellent superintendant of the education of youth. After reigning nineteen years he left a natural son called Gillus; but Dothan and Dougal, the twin sons of Durstus, claimed the throne. Both of them were murdered by Gillus, as were two of Dothan's sons, and the third, Eder, was saved by his nurse. The murder of the royal family being

Josina.

Finnan.

Durstus.

Even.

Gillus.

ing known, the Scots and Picts united under Cadval, the chieftain of the Brigantes, to revenge their death; upon which the tyrant fled to Ireland. He was pursued, defeated, and killed by Cadva. In the mean time, young Eder being a minor, Even or Eiven the second, as being the first prince of the blood, and nephew to Finnan, was chosen king, or rather administrator of the realm. He renewed the league with Getus, king of the Picts, and entirely subdued Belus, king of the Orkneys, who made a descent upon Scotland. He is said to have built Innerlochy and Innernefs.

Even the second.

Having quelled all domestic commotions and foreign enemies, Even, according to some writers, resigned the throne to Eder; but Buchanan speaks as if he died in possession of it. The tranquillity which Even the second had restored to Scotland, was interrupted by an island chieftain, one Bredius, who was utterly defeated by Eder. This reign is chiefly conspicuous by falling in with Cæsar's descent upon Britain, which we have already mentioned. Eder, if we are to believe some writers, sent his quota of troops to the assistance of the Southern Britons. Whatever may be in this, it is by no means absurd to suppose, that the Galedonians, or by whatever name the inhabitants of Scotland then went, assisted Cassibelan, and the other British princes, against the Romans;

Eder.

mans; which may be presumed from the Britons alledging to Cæsar, that they could not make peace without taking the sentiments of certain princes and people who lay at a vast distance. Even lived to a great age, and died in the forty-eighth year of his reign.

The method in which Boece and Buchanan have digested this period of their history, affords a strong presumption that great part of it was the work of invention. We find few of the princes, who filled the Scotch throne by mere hereditary descent, deserving of that honour, unless they are trained up under princes who inherit by election, founded on proximity of blood. The name of the son of Eder, who immediately succeeds him, is called Even or Eiven the third, who is represented as a monster of nature. Not contented with having a hundred noble concubines of his own, he made a law that a man might marry as many wives as he could maintain; that the king should have the first night with every noble bride, and the nobles the like with the daughters of their tenants. These are shocking institutions. It is to be hoped, for the honour of human nature, that they are misrepresented. It is to be feared, however, that they have some colour from the barbarous times of the feudal law, and that the *mercheta mulierum*, by which is meant, the mark or sum paid to superiors to exempt ladies from prostitution, was in consequence of a species

Even the
third.

cies of wardship which was not unknown to other nations besides the Scots. It is, however, certain, that lust and luxury introduced cruelty and rapaciousness, which ended in rebellion; and Even being dethroned, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, where he was murdered in the seventh year of his reign.

Metellan.

Even the third was succeeded by Metellan, who reigned when our Saviour was born, proved an excellent prince, and died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. Leaving no heirs of his own body, the Scotch historians have given

Caractacus,

him for his successor the famous Caractacus, who was carried prisoner to Rome, where he made the famous speech transmitted by Tacitus.

Corbred.

He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his brother Corbred, who subdued the turbulent islanders and robbers, and was the author of many useful institutions to his country. We are told that he preserved an inviolable friendship towards the Romans, till Didius, their general, at the desire of queen Cartimandua, who had imprisoned her husband, and raised her slave Vellodad to her bed, invaded his dominions; upon which he took arms, set Venutius at liberty, and carried on war against the Romans with no inconsiderable success. His sister is said have been the famous Boadicea, so renowned in the British history. After her defeat and death, Corbred retired to his own dominions, where he died in peace in the eighteenth

teenth year of his reign, leaving behind him three sons, Corbred, Tulcan, and Brek, all minors. Scotch writers pretend, that his death happened in the year of our Lord seventy-one. Dardan, who was nephew to Metellan, and consequently of the royal blood, was chosen to succeed him; but some say, that he was only appointed guardian to prince Corbred till he should be of age, and this Corbred is supposed to have been the famous Galgacus who fought Agricola. His history is undoubtedly, at this period, connected with that of Scotland, and as such we shall pursue it, after a slight review of what relates to Scotland in the Roman History, before Agricola invaded it.

Dardan

Corbred,
called Galgacus.

Eutropius and Orosius inform us, that the emperor Claudius not only subdued a great number of British princes, but discovered the Orcades or Orkney-Islands*; and an ancient inscription † taken from the palace of Barberini speaks of his having been the original discoverer of several barbarous nations. Tacitus, on the other hand, expressly says, that the Or-

* Jam primum (says he) Romana classis circumventa insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Vit. Agric. C. 10,

† TI. CLAUDIO CÆS.

AVGVSTO

PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P. IX.

COSV. IMP. XVI. P. P.

SENATVS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD.

REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQ.

VLLA JACTVRA DOMVERIT.

GENTESQVE. BARBARAS.

PRIMVS. INDICIO. SVBEGERIT.

cades never were discovered till the time of Agricola. There is some reason to believe the testimony of the two first mentioned authors are corroborated by the inscription; and that the discoveries made by Claudius were so insignificant that they had been abandoned, and even the memory of them lost in Agricola's time. We may likewise fairly presume, that the state of Scotland, or rather the northern parts of the island, was very different in the time of Claudius from what Agricola found it. The intermediate wars had undoubtedly driven great numbers of the Southern Britons northward, to avoid the Roman yoke; so that Scotland might have been an important object for Agricola, though not for Claudius. The history of those wars is foreign to this place; but we are to observe, that at the time we now treat of, the ninth legion was probably stationed in Scotland; and that it was afterwards incorporated into the sixth. We have no reason, excepting the doubtful Scotch authorities, to believe, that from the time Claudius left Britain, where he staid but six months, to the invasion of Agricola, any of the Roman generals carried their arms into Scotland; nor can we rank either the Brigantes or the Ordovices among the inhabitants of that country.

History of
Agricola.

Agricola, according to the noble historian Tacitus, was one of the most accomplished politicians, as well as generals, that Rome had ever

ever seen, and in his own person the pattern of temperance, moderation, and military virtue. But Agricola at the same time was a Roman; that is, he studied the aggrandizement of his country at the expence of justice and humanity. After introducing into Britain the Roman arts, that he might soften the natives into subjection, he relieved them from many oppressions imposed upon them by his predecessors, merely with the insidious view of keeping them quiet, and reconciling them to the Roman sway, till he had totally reduced the island. Neither Tacitus, who was his profest panegyrist, nor any of the old Roman historians, inform us of any provocation that Agricola had to induce him to conquer Caledonia, but the unjustifiable glory of the conquest. His capital maxim was to bridle the Britons with forts; and in this he said to have been so successful, that none of them were ever taken, betrayed, or given up. Having secured all to the south, in the third year of his command we find that he penetrated as far as the river Tay; but we know no particulars of his progress. In his fourth year, he built a line of forts between the Clyde and the Forth, to exclude the Caledonians from the southern parts; and thereby, in some sense, he shut them up in another island. This manner of proceeding reflects honour upon the Caledonians, since so great a general as Agricola, with all the southern parts of Britain at his

command, and at the head of a powerful Roman army, had recourse to such expedients against their incursions.

There is reason for believing, that in the fifth year of Agricola's command, he took shipping, and subdued those parts of Modern Scotland which lay to the south and the west of his forts, and which now contain the counties of Galloway, Cantire, and Argyle, then inhabited by a people called Cangî. Some modern writers have been of opinion, that the Cangî inhabited Cheshire and the north part of Wales; but that is very improbable, because those parts were well known to the Romans; and Tacitus expressly tells us, that the people Agricola then conquered had never been discovered before. Add to this, that the Scotch counties we have mentioned are equally (if not more) commodious as Wales is for an invasion of Ireland, which Agricola then intended, and for which purpose he left a body of his troops there. Next year, his fleet sailed to the north of Bodotria, or the Frith of Forth, while he passed it at the head of his land army. It is to the glory of the Caledonians, that the tremendous appearance of a Roman fleet on their coasts, and of a Roman army in their territories, was so far from daunting, that it united them. Agricola, from what he had experienced in the southern parts, had depended greatly on the disunion of the Caledonians for success. Being disappointed

pointed in his expectation, he proceeded with the utmost caution. He ordered his mariners to keep as near as possible to the coast; so that sometimes they landed and mingled with the land troops. As usual, he guarded all his acquisitions by forts, and was particularly careful in founding the sea-coasts. It appears plainly, from the noble historian's narrative, that his situation required all those precautions.

The Roman historian renders it more than probable that Colbred, whom the Scotch historians call Galdus, but whom we shall (after Tacitus) call Galgacus, had served his apprenticeship to war in South Britain against the Romans; but we are not to adopt the narratives of Boece, Buchanan, and other Scotch historians, as to the particulars; though it must be acknowledged that he was a brave and experienced general, and seems to have been well acquainted with the military discipline of the Romans. He accordingly made dispositions for attacking Agricola's forts between the Clyde and the Forth. Agricola and the Romans had intelligence of his plan. Some of his officers advised him to re-cross the Forth; but he, knowing that such a retreat would at once discourage his own soldiers, and give fresh spirits to the Caledonians and Britons, divided his army into three parts; each division having a communication with another. Upon this, Galgacus, whose original intention was to have cut

The Caledonians defeated.

cut off the communication of the Romans with the sea, and their retreat to the southwards, changed the plan of his operations, resolving to attack the weakest of the three divisions, which consisted of the ninth legion, and which was then, very probably, lying at Lohore, two miles from Loughleven, in Fife. The charge of the Caledonians, who had united their forces on the occasion, was in the night-time, and so furious, that Agricola, hearing of it by means of the communications he had established, dispatched his light troops to attack his enemies in the rear, who were now making great slaughter in the very heart of the Roman camp, while he himself advanced with the legionary forces to support them. The shouts of the light troops at once announced their arrival, and discouraged the Caledonians. The latter, unable to contend with the Roman discipline, strengthened by numbers, retired to marshes and fastnesses, to which their enemies could not pursue them.

The historian has magnified this escape of the ninth legion into a victory of the Romans; but, by other testimonies, the Britons, part of whom were the Caledonians, were no great sufferers; for, instead of being dismayed, they now thought that the Romans were not invincible, and resolved to trust to their numbers and their courage, rather than their bogs and woods. For this purpose, they placed their

their wives and children in their most secure fastnesses. They strengthened their confederacy by solemn and religious rites, and brought into the field all who were able to bear arms; being persuaded that it was accident and fortune, and not valour and conduct, that effected the deliverance of the ninth legion. It is no wonder if the Romans, situated as they were, and finding their general resolved not to turn back, thought it safer to advance than to retreat. They demanded to be led to the extremities of Caledonia; and Agricola, accordingly, next summer led them to the foot of the Grampian hills, where the Caledonians resolved to make their last stand. Those hills divide Old Caledonia into two, from east to west. Part of them run from Athol down to the south side of the river Dee to the East-sea; and another branch terminates at the Western-sea from Athol down to Breadalbin. It is, however, extremely difficult, and would be foreign to our purpose, to trace them more particularly here. We are now supposed to follow Agricola to the eighth year of his expedition; and that he had reinforced his army by numbers of the provinciated Britons, whom he disciplined, and whom he could trust. He advanced against the Caledonians (his fleet still keeping pace with his army) and found them drawn up with their first rank at the foot of a rising-ground, which was covered with their other troops,

troops, while the intermediate space between them and the Romans was filled by their horses and chariots. Tacitus has given us a speech which he supposes Galgacus to have made on this occasion, and which is the most animated of any we meet with in antiquity. Though we are far from thinking it genuine, yet as that great author undoubtedly makes him speak in the well-known character of a British prince of those days, it would be unpardonable in us entirely to omit it.

Speech of
Galgacus.

He begins with painting the situation of his subjects and that of the Romans, and endeavours to fire the former with the reflection that they are still unsubdued; that they are the noblest of all the Britons; and that their southern countrymen placed in them their last hope and resource. He then describes the ambition, the avarice, the pride, cruelty, and haughtiness of their enemies. "They are (says he) the only people ever known alike to affect wealth and poverty. They pillage, they murder; under false claims do they pilfer dominion; and when they create solitude they term it peace." He then proceeds to recount the various horrors that must attend the Caledonians, should they be subjected to so detestable a race; and shews, that valour was now the only means of their glory and safety. He next represents the Romans as far from being invincible, and the disadvantages they were under from their army being

being composed of different nations, and even Britons. “ Every allurements of victory (concludes he) is for us ; the Romans have no wives to enflame their courage; they have no parents to reproach their cowardice: most of them have no country, or another country than Rome. Their numbers are inconsiderable; they are now trembling through their own ignorance, and are casting their eyes upon strange seas and woods; while the gods seem to have delivered them over to us, as it were, pent up and fettered. Let not their vain shew frighten you, nor the glittering of their gold and silver, which are equally useless for defending themselves, or attacking others. We shall find friends even in the enemy’s army. The Britons will espouse their own cause; the Gauls will reflect upon their departed liberties; and the other Germans will, as the Usipians lately did, abandon them. There is then an end of all our fears. Their forts are empty, their colonies composed of old men, their lands and corporations at variance, being divided betwixt those who command with injustice, and obey with reluctance. Here you have a general and an army; there tributes and mines, with the other penalties of slavery; and upon this field, you are to determine whether you will chuse eternal submission, or immediate revenge; therefore advance to your ranks, and think upon your progenitors, and your posterity.”

and that of
Agricola.

The speech of Agricola was that of a Roman general intent upon conquest alone. He encouraged his foldiers by pointing towards the enemy whom they had so often vanquished, and reminding them, that, by beating them again, all their toils and marches would be crowned with conquest and glory. This speech had all the effect he could desire. He then drew up his army in two lines; the first consisting of his auxiliary foot, with three thousand horse disposed as wings; the second formed by his legionary troops, the flower of his army, who he pretended ought not to be exposed to the swords of the barbarians without extreme necessity. In the beginning of the battle the Britons had the advantage by the dexterous management of their bucklers; but Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts, armed with short swords and embossed bucklers which terminated in a point, to charge the Caledonians, who were armed with long swords, that were useless in a close encounter. This seems to have been the great secret of the Roman art of war against all the people whom they styled barbarians. The Caledonians were, in a manner, defenceless when their enemies got within the points of their swords, their little bucklers covering but a very small part of their bodies. The most forward of their cavalry and charioteers fell back upon their infantry, and disordered the center; but the Britons
endea-

endeavouring to out-flank their enemies, Agricola opposed them with his horse, and nothing then remained but confusion and dismay among the Caledonians, who, after losing great numbers, retreated to the woods, to which the Romans followed them at first with so little precaution, that the fugitives cut off many of the most forward; till Agricola forming his troops a-new, ordered them to proceed more regularly, by which the Britons were disappointed in their hopes of attacking, and cutting them off, in separate parties. In this battle, which seems to have been fought near Fortingal-camp*, about

* Mr. Gordon offers very plausible reasons to prove, that the place of the battle was in Strathern, half a mile south from the Kirk of Comerie: for this, as he informs us, is upon or near a part of the ridge of the Grampian mountains; whereas no Roman camp has been discovered in Athol or Invernes, which looks as if Agricola had never gone so far, tho' there is a remarkable encampment here. The encampments Ardock and Innerpeffery are between the Grampian and Ochel mountains, and not large enough to contain the number of men which were in Galgacus's army. Tacitus says, the legionary soldiers were placed before the vallum; ~~that is, as I suppose,~~ the trench of their camp. The track of ground here, and the encampment and rising-ground about it, Mr. Gordon thinks, agrees surprizingly to Tacitus's description of it: and the moor in which this camp stands, is, as he affirms, called to this day Galgachan, or Galdachan Rofs moor. But Tacitus's expressions seem to imply, that they were farther beyond the Tay than the place assigned by Mr. Gordon; and a very ingenious gentleman informed me of a place called Fortingal-camp, near which, he inclined to think, the place of battle might have been. He told me also, that he had seen the camp Gordon mentions; but could not learn the moor which was called Galgachan Rofs moor. I am much of the opinion of a very curious gentleman who lives upon the spot, and is well skilled in the Highland tongue, that the true name is Dalgin Rofs; that is, the dale under Rofs, as he explained it.

about sixteen miles from Dunkeld, the Caledonians are said to have lost ten thousand men; and the Romans, about three hundred and forty. It is surprizing, if we admit as true all that Tacitus says concerning this defeat, that it was not more decisive than it proved to be. Agricola, instead of putting a period to his labours, by conquering all Caledonia, was contented to retire to the country of the Horsti, which I apprehend to have been Fifeshire†; though it is generally supposed to have been Forfarshire. Here he accepted of hostages from part of the Caledonians. He then retreated southwards, by slow marches; and ordered part of his fleet (for it was necessary that some ships should attend him with provisions) to sail

Ros is a village near to this vale, and near the Roman encampment. The country people sometimes pronounce the word Dalgin not unlike Galgin, which, very probably, has led Gordon into his opinion concerning this name. Fortingal-camp is about sixteen miles from Dunkeld. The middle syllable is, as I understand it, the sign of the genitive in the Highland tongue; and gal signifies a stranger: so that the word imports the fort of strangers; or, if gal be supposed the first syllable of Galgacus, then it is Galgacus's fort. I only farther add, that Gordon, in his account of his Galgacan camp, takes no notice, I think, of a stone that is in the middle of it, a tumulus nigh it, and a military way that goes from it: and, in computing its contents, omits the legions, as the four alæ, that were kept as a reserve; for the auxiliaries alone were eight thousand; and the horse, or the wings, were three thousand. But the legions might possibly have been at Ardock, or Innerpeffery, before they marched to the battle. ---See Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 44.

† The lake Orra, or Horra, was known in the time of the Romans. Many remains of their encampments are seen yet near Lochore, or the lake of Horra, in the county of Fife.

round Britain, which they did, and found it to be an island; for, at the end of their voyage, they arrived at Queenborough, in England, from whence they had set sail.

Upon the whole, there is great reason to suspect that Tacitus has concealed some part of his hero's adventures during the campaign; otherwise his conduct is far from answering the character he gives him. A great commander, such as Galgacus is represented to be, could not be ignorant of the superiority the Romans had over the Caledonians, however brave the latter might be in their own persons. It was therefore natural for him to instruct his troops to take all advantage of their enemies, by surprize or otherwise; but as soon as they found them regularly formed, that they should retreat, with the greatest expedition, to their well-known fastnesses. It is not at all improbable, at the same time, that he might hope to check the progress of the Romans, to the north of the Grampians, where the finest counties of his dominions lay, by collecting his army into one body; but it is against common sense to believe, that had the defeat been so complete, and so bloody, as Tacitus has represented it, so able a commander and politician as Agricola, would not have persevered in his purpose, and completed his proposed conquest. Is it to be imagined, that such a leader, at the head of a Roman army, which consisted of above twenty thou-

thousand regulars, and one half of them legionary troops, would have spent seven campaigns, without receiving a single check, before they reached the foot of the Grampian mountains? or that thirty thousand, almost unarmed, barbarians could, for a single hour, retard the progress of such a general and such an army? We may, therefore, venture to say, that some circumstances of those campaigns have not been transmitted in the narrative given us by the noble historian.

This is rendered almost evident by the fate of Agricola's forts, which he had constructed with so much labour and judgment; for no sooner did he return southwards, than they were abandon'd, and the Caledonians demolish'd them. The services of Agricola rendered him eminent at Rome; but raising the envy of his master Domitian, he was sent out of the world by a dose of poison. Agricola was succeeded in his government of Britain either by Caius Trebellius, or Salustius Lucullus, whom the same tyrant put to death. In their lieutenancies, the Caledonians made inroads upon the southern conquests of the Romans in Britain; but we are left in the dark as to the particulars, for very near thirty-five years. It is reasonable, however, to presume, from the general accounts that have come to our hands through the Roman historians, that Galgacus resumed his arms the moment he found Agricola retreating southwards. The south-

southern Britons were not only subjected to the Romans, but fond of their chains, because they still enjoyed some appearances of their ancient government. The demolition, therefore, of the Roman forts undoubtedly was owing to Galgacus, or his successor; for we are told, he penetrated so far into the provinciated part of Britain, that he was joined by a few of the southern Britains who had not been entirely subdued; that he invited their other countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke; and that he even made war upon them, because they refused to recover their liberty. All this may be gathered from the dark hints left us by the Roman historians themselves. Those of Scotland inform us, that Galgacus, after a triumphant reign, both over the Romans and the enslaved Britons, died gloriously in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, answering to the year of Christ 103. We are here to observe, that the British word gal, or wal, without all doubt, signifies a stranger; and that Galdus (for so he is called by Tacitus) is only the Roman manner of writing the same word. This affords a strong presumption that Galdus was not, as some writers pretend, a Welch, or a Southern Briton, but a Caledonian; for the former could not have called their own countryman a stranger.

The brave Galgacus, or Galdus, was succeeded by his son **Luſtacus**, who, degenerating from the virtues of his father, was put to death by his

Mogold.

his subjects, together with the worthless ministers of his lewdness and tyranny. We find the Caledonians and Picts, at this time, to have been under separate governments; for Mogold, the grandson of Galgacus by his daughter, having succeeded Luctacus, made a league with the king of the Picts, who is called Unipane. We have the authority of the Roman historians, particularly Spartian, for saying, that when this league (if any such ever existed) is supposed to have been formed, the Roman affairs in Britain were on the brink of ruin, which was prevented only by the indefatigable cares, and, at last, the personal arrival, of the emperor Adrian. Soon after his accession he sent over to Britain the sixth legion, one of the finest in his service, which took up its station in the North of England; and the second legion was quartered at or near Netherby, in Cumberland, which was then the northern frontier of the Roman part of the island: so that the Caledonians must have re-conquered from the Romans all that tract of ground which lay between Agricola's chain of forts and Carlisle on the west, and Newcastle, or Tinmouth-bar, on the east; which Adrian, upon his arrival, thought proper to fix as his northern boundary. They, probably, were assisted in their operations by the Picts, the Galloway-men, and other inhabitants of modern Scotland, who were not Caledonians. It is certain that their progress alarmed

alarmed Adrian so much, that no prince was ever at greater pains to discipline the army he brought over with him to Britain. All he could do was to force them to the northwards of the frontier I have already described, for which he assumed upon his coins, the title of Restitutor Britanniae, or the Recoverer of Britain. Arriving at York, he made dispositions for pursuing the plan of Agricola; but dropt it upon the representations of some of Agricola's old soldiers, concerning the difficulties attending it. He therefore contented himself with marking out a wall, which is called the Second Prætenture (Agricola's forts being the first) of Britain, and which ran from the mouth of the river Tine to the Solway Frith, about eighty miles, according to Spartian, quite across the island. As the description of this wall belongs more properly to the history of England than Scotland, we shall only observe here, that it was built of turf, and intended to shut out the barbarians (for so the Caledonians and other unprovinciated Britons were called) from the southern parts of the island: a work erected on principles betraying an ignorance equal to barbarism itself. The names of Rome and Adrian have silenced the censures of historians upon these insane constructions of prætentures; but surely, nothing could be more absurd than to think that a turf wall, seventy or eighty miles in length, could

be manned by their legions, consisting of, at most, eighteen thousand men, which were all the troops the Romans then had in Britain, so as to prevent an enemy from getting over any part of it; and, indeed, Severus, one of Adrian's successors, seems to have been of the same opinion.

Mogold, at first, proved an excellent prince; and the Scotch historians tell us, that after his confederacy with the Picts, he gave the Romans a signal defeat, which was the reason of Adrian's passing over to Britain. This is by no means improbable; but we are unable to account for the sources from which the Scotch draw their information; as the pretended histories of Veremundus and Cambellus, mentioned by Boece, who is followed by Buchanan, and other writers, are at best doubtful authorities. Notwithstanding this, and tho' we are no advocates for the line of Scotch kings between the first and second Fergus, yet no writer can safely assert, that the Scots, in early times, might not have had historical records which have been lost to their posterity. That the Southern Britons were acquainted with the Roman arts and learning, is past doubt; and why might they not transmit to after-ages the transactions of their own times, though their compositions are now lost? Neither is it absurd to suppose, that some of the Southern Britons mingled with their Northern brethren; and might have their pupils,

pils, whom they instructed in reading and writing. We are even inclined to think, that the absurdity lies in not admitting such a supposition, though the records cannot now be produced. But to return to our history.

Upon the departure of Adrian out of Britain, he left Julius Severus his proprætor in the island; but according to others, Priscus Licinius. Tho' Severus was one of the greatest captains of his age, yet we do not find that either he, or Priscus Licinius, carried their arms to the north of Adrian's prætenture. Mogold, therefore, lived in such security that he degenerated into a tyrant; and, to supply his pleasures, made a law, "That the estates of such as were condemned should be forfeited to his exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their wives or children." Buchanan is severe upon this tyrannical law, as he calls it; but the substance of it is in force in Great Britain, and the best regulated governments in Europe, to this day. It was, however, so displeasing to his noblemen, that they conspired together and murdered him. Antoninus Pius succeeded Adrian; and his proprætor in Britain was Lollius Urbicus. The Scotch historians inform us, that Conar, who succeeded his father Mogold, was one of the conspirators against his life; and that the Southern Britons, passing Adrian's wall, laid waste Conar's territories; who, uniting with the Picts, drove them southwards, and fought a bloody battle

Conar.

with them and the Romans, which weakened both sides so much, that they agreed to a truce for a year. Before the war expired, the prætor saw how useless Adrian's prætenture was; yet we are told, he repaired it. The Scotch historians are countenanced by the Roman, in their history of this period; for they assert, that Conar and the Picts were joined by the Brigantes, or the inhabitants of Yorkshire; and that they invaded Genunia, or North Wales, where they were defeated by Urbicus, who pursued his victory, and drove the North Britons to the northward of Agricola's prætenture. We have already observed, that this consisted of a chain of forts, which was a stronger frontier than a long ineffectual turf wall. Lollius Urbicus finding many of those forts standing, repaired and joined them together by turf walls, guarded by mounds and ditches; some parts of which are still visible. The whole was thus fortified by a series of stations, or forts, and certainly reached from Carron, upon the Frith of Forth, to Dunglas, upon the Frith of Clyde; running by Falkirk, Camelon, Dick's-house, Roughcastle-fort, Castlecary's-fort, Westerwood-fort, Crowy-hill, Barnhill-fort, Achindavy, Kirkentelloch, Calder, Bemulie, New-Kirkpatrick, Castle-hill, Duntocher, and Old - Kirkpatrick; the whole being somewhat more than thirty-seven English miles in length. The foundation was stone, and it had conduits, which at once kept it dry, and supplied

*Description
of the wall
of Urbicus,
commonly
called that
of Antonine.*

supplied the ditch that accompanied it with water. The thickness of the wall, which inclined towards the north, and was, as much as possible, carried along the brows of eminences, was about four yards. It probably had its exploratory mounts, and the ditch was larger than that which afterwards accompanied the wall of Severus. The main agger, or rampart, lay on the south side; and on the south of that ran a large well-paved military way, which never leaves the wall above a hundred and forty yards. We learn from the inscriptions on this wall, which are still extant, that the whole of the legion called *Secunda Augusta*, and the vexillations of the twentieth and the sixth legions, were employed in completing this prætecture; which, according to the same inscriptions, extended to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-six paces. It was built while Antoninus Pius was the third time consul, answering to the year of Christ 140. Its design was to prevent the communication of the Caledonians and the Picts with the Brigantes; but though much better calculated for that purpose, because of its small extent, than that of Adrian, yet it was ineffectual against the Northern Britons. It confined them, indeed, for some time; and the exploits of Urbicus procured for Antoninus, tho' he never was in Britain, the epithet of *Britannicus*. Before we take leave of Antoninus Pius, we cannot help expressing our amazement, that
so

so excellent a writer as Buchanan should not mention the wall of Urbicus; who, he says, only repaired that of Adrian.

As to Conar, having degenerated into a tyrant, and wanting to oppress his subjects by taxes, they shut him up in prison, where he died of grief, in the fourteenth year of his reign. On his death Argad, said to have been prince of Argyleshire, was chosen regent, who proved, at first, an excellent justiciary; but afterwards disoblged the subjects by marrying a Pictish princess, and fomenting dissensions among the nobles, which raised a suspicion that he intended to seize upon the crown. Being accused in a public assembly of the states of those practices, he confessed his guilt; but by humbling himself before the people, he obtained his pardon, and was continued in the government, which he executed with great virtue and ability; till Ethod, nephew to Mogold, mounted the throne. We have few authorities to direct us in our account of this prince besides the Scotch historians, excepting the writer of the life of Marcus Antoninus, who was then the Roman emperor; from which it appears, that the British wars again breaking out, he sent over, as his lieutenant, Calpurnius Agricola. In the mean time, Argad was continued as general and prime minister; but was killed in an expedition against the inhabitants of the Ebudæ islands, who, we are told, were assisted by the Picts and Irish; and

and were, in their turn, subdued by Ethod in person, who hanged two hundred of their ringleaders. After this, Ethod applied himself to the administration of justice all over his kingdom. Boece, in this king's reign, has taken notice of many particulars which, tho' far from being improbable, are entirely omitted by Buchanan. According to Boece, Victorinus, a Roman general, or proprætor, invaded the dominions of the Scots and Picts, who were united by their common interest; and Ethod having in vain demanded reparation, a battle was fought, which weakened both parties so much, that they were at peace for a whole year. Then Calphurnius Agricola took the command, who proved a successful general, and obliged the Northern Britons to keep within the prætenture of Urbicus. Commodus, who succeeded Antoninus in the Roman empire, recalled Calphurnius Agricola; upon which, a fierce war, and more dangerous to the Romans than any of the preceding, broke out in Britain. The Britons penetrated the Roman walls, and put all who resisted them to the sword; but they were soon checked by Marcellus Ulpus, a general of consummate abilities, sent against them by Commodus. That tyrant hated Ulpus for his virtues; and upon his being recalled, the Roman discipline in Britain suffered a vast relaxation. As to Ethod, there is nothing improbable in what the Scotch writers tell us, that

The Britons
checked by
the Romans.

he

he took all advantages against the Romans, and was at last assassinated by a musician, who, in all northern courts, were formerly in high esteem, and admitted to be of the king's bed-chamber. Ethod was succeeded by his brother Satrahel, his own sons being under age. Satrahel proved a tyrant; endeavoured to establish the crown in his own family; and was assassinated by one of his domestics in the fourth year of his reign, and of Christ 197.

Satrahel.

By this time a total alteration took place in the military government of the Romans in Britain. Perennis, first minister to the emperor Commodus, had persuaded his master to give the command of his British armies to knights, instead of senators. History is silent as to the motives of this measure; but it probably was in consideration of sums advanced for the support of the emperor's pleasures (the knights being the moneyed men of Rome) for which they were to indemnify themselves by speculation. It is certain, however, the Roman soldiers in Britain mutiny'd under this innovation; and their discontents rose so high, that the army deputed fifteen hundred of their number to carry their complaints, and lay them before Commodus in person at Rome. The emperor met the deputies without the gates, and they accused Perennis of aspiring to place his son upon the Imperial throne. Commodus, upon this, seeming to believe them, gave up Perennis,

nis, whom he had now begun to hate, to the soldiers, who put him to death. The mutiny still continued, through the vast relaxation of discipline that prevailed among the troops. The soldiers even talked of electing a new emperor, and named Pertinax to the purple. He was a brave general, and at that time commanded an army against the Parthians. Commodus, however, was so fully convinced of his honour, that he acted in a manner very uncommon with tyrants; for, to secure the fidelity of Pertinax, he ordered him to pass over to Britain, and there to take the command of the Roman army. Pertinax obeyed; and, upon his arrival, the troops acclaimed him emperor. He declined the honour with so much resolution, that the soldiers, thinking they could now have no safety but in his accepting it, proceeded to force, and Pertinax was wounded in the tumult. Perceiving, after this, that it was in vain for him to think of retrieving military discipline among such troops, he desired to be recalled. Clodius Albinus, a person of great reputation, and descended from the ancient Posthumus, was next sent by Commodus to command in Britain. The reader is to understand that Scotland, or rather the northern neighbourhood of the prætenture of Urbicus, seems to have been the scene of action at this time in Britain. The southern parts were not only provinciatised, but governed by their native kings, who reigned

as viceroys to the Romans, and generally were so firm to their interest, that they had nothing to apprehend from the inhabitants. The Romans were even so indulgent to the provinciated Britons, that they tolerated Christianity in the island, as appears from the history and coins of Lucius, a British Christian king. This was long before we have any certainty of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, where the inhabitants, or at least the bulk of them, still continued brave independent Pagans, and kept the Roman soldiery in perpetual alarms.

Albinus was a man of such high rank and consideration, that he declined the honour of being nominated Cæsar, or heir-apparent to the empire, by Commodus. This he did, partly upon prudential, and partly upon republican principles, as he thought that the imperial purple would dishonour a descendant of the Posthumi. He seems to have succeeded in re-settling the military discipline; but upon a false report of the emperor's death being spread, he harangued the soldiers to abolish the imperial tyranny, and to return to their old form of government under consuls. At the same time, he informed them that he had been offered the honour of being nominated Cæsar, which he had rejected with disdain. Though this speech came to the emperor's ears, yet his authority was at that time too weak in Britain to resent it: and there is some reason
to

to believe, that he continued in a kind of independent command of the Roman army in Britain, till the death of Commodus, who was succeeded by Pertinax. The licentiousness of the Roman soldiery had always rendered them at variance with the senate, whose severity they dreaded, but whose authority was resolutely supported by Albinus. The senators had conceived the highest expectation from his abilities and virtues, and even addressed Pertinax to make him his partner in the empire. Pertinax hated Albinus, and had a little time before published a kind of circular letter, sent, or intended to be sent by Commodus, to all his governors of provinces, accusing Albinus of courting the senate from motives of ambition. This publication was intended to ruin Albinus with the troops; but he prevented his fate by persuading Didius Julianus to murder Pertinax, and to raise himself to the imperial throne. Julianus depended chiefly on the friendship of Albinus for preserving the government of Britain, and was succeeded by Septimius Severus, who found a competitor in the person of Pescennius Niger, whom he soon dispatched.

Albinus seems, by this time, to have been so much intoxicated with the great credit and reputation he had acquired, as to have defied the imperial power. Severus, who knew his principles, at once hated and dreaded him; but carried his dissimulation so far as to associate

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him with himself in the empire: a dignity, which, though inconsistent with his former principles, Albinus thought proper to accept. Upon the defeat and death of Pescennius Niger, there was no farther room for dissimulation in Severus; and we are told, that he sent murderers into Britain to dispatch Albinus, who discovering this wicked intention from the confession of the assassins under torture, immediately declared himself emperor. Understanding that Severus was marching against him, he shook off his indolence, and passed over to the continent of Europe, at the head of fifty thousand men, whom the histories of that time, indiscriminately, call Britons. Being met by Severus with an army of equal numbers, a most terrible battle ensued near Lyons, in France. The Britons, at first, had the advantage, and Severus saved himself by throwing away his diadem and imperial robes. He, however, rallied his men, and being supported by Lætus, one of his generals, the battle was renewed, when victory declared for Severus; on which Albinus put himself to death.

Donald the
first.

The king whom the Scotch historians have assigned to their country during these important transactions, is called Donald the first. He was brother to Ethod and Satrahel, and is recorded as a prince of merit, both civil and military. The Roman historians, at this period, give great countenance to those of Scotland. It is

is certain, that during the absence of Albinus, the Caledonians had made a very dreadful impression upon the Roman empire in Britain; and that they had driven the masters of the world even beyond Adrian's prætenture. Severus, though sixty years of age and full of infirmities, ordered Virius Lupus to act as his proprætor in the northern parts of Britain. Lupus found the Romans so disorderly and dispirited, and their affairs so desperate, that he was obliged to inform Severus that nothing but his own presence could retrieve them. Donald, or whoever was the prince of the Caledonians at that time, had encouraged the Meatae (for so Xiphilin calls the Britons who lived between the two prætentures) to take arms against the Romans; so that Severus was apprehensive of losing all Britain. Upon his arrival there with his army, which was far superior to any the Romans ever had in the island, he immediately marched northwards towards Adrian's wall. It was in vain for the Caledonians and their allies, who knew they were no match for his numerous and well-disciplined troops, to endeavour, by their deputies, to deprecate his wrath; for he still proceeded northwards, and rejected all terms of accommodation. He repaired the roads, and removed all obstructions to his march; but he found the Caledonians a more dangerous enemy than he had expected. They were armed with a little shield and spear, and a sword de-

pending

Expedition
of Severus.

Armour of
the Caledo-
nians.

pending from their naked bodies, which were painted with the figures of animals. Their dispositions were warlike, their persons hardened by fatigue; they could swim the most rapid floods, and undergo the most difficult marches. They followed the maxims of Cassibelan, the brave British prince who opposed the Dictator. They attacked the Romans by surprizes, and detached parties; they laid baits of cattle and provisions, that they might cut off the stragglers from their main body; but carefully avoided coming to any pitched action. By this method of fighting the Roman soldiers were perpetually engaged in skirmishes, and so much distressed in their march, that they desired each other to put an end to their lives. The reader may form some idea of the original numbers of the Roman army, when he is told, from undoubted authority, that tho' Severus lost fifty thousand men in his march, he was still in a condition to proceed.

Progress of
Severus.

The event of this expedition is not very clear. Admitting, with Xiphilin, that he forced the Caledonians and their allies to a peace, yet that was no more than they had offered him when he first landed on the island. Herodian makes no mention of the peace. Xiphilin tells us, indeed, that he was carried in a sedan to the extremities of the island; and that he obliged the natives to cede to him some part of their country. The former circumstance may be a fact, because, as we have already seen, the Caledonians

nians never ventured to oppose him in a pitched battle, and undoubtedly the difficulties and distresses of his army must have encreased as he advanced northwards. It is likewise very possible, that he recovered to his subjection the country of the Meatae between the two prætentures, or, rather, that he dispossessed the enemy of all that they held south of Adrian's wall; but it scarcely can admit of a doubt, that he performed nothing worthy his great preparations, and the almost incredible losses he sustained. It is during this march that Buchanan has fixed the building of the celebrated Roman temple, which, he supposes, was dedicated to the god Terminus, on the banks of the river Carron. That it was a Roman work, there is no reason to doubt; but some antiquaries, with great probability, think it was erected by Agricola; and some believe it to have been a mausoleum, such as that erected to the memory of Cæcilia Metella, at Rome. This noble monument of antiquity was demolished in 1742 by a more than Gothic knight, in order to repair a mill-dam with its stones.

Fate of the
temple of
Terminus.

Upon the return of Severus southward, he saw the necessity of raising a stronger barrier against the invasions of the Caledonians than the prætentures either of Antoninus or Adrian; and he accordingly built a wall which has the same direction with that of Adrian, but extended farther at each end. The description of this wall

Wall of Se-
verus.

wall shews that it was intended by the founder as a regular military fortification : but the reader, in the notes, will find a confutation of Buchanan's opinion that it was erected between the firths of Forth and Clyde *. The mention of

* Having described the other prætences, I shall likewise give some account of this. Notwithstanding what has been said by some eminent writers, it is certain this wall was quite different from that of Adrian, though, in the main, it ran near the same ground ; but, according to Mr. Horsley's account, it extended farther at each end than Adrian's. It has, all along on the south, a paved military way, though not always running parallel, in breadth about seventeen foot, and sometimes coincides with Adrian's north agger ; but where the latter is too distant or inconvenient, it proceeds separately. Mr. Horsley believes there might have been likewise a smaller military way, for the convenience of small parties passing from one turret to another. This wall has also a large ditch at the north ; but there is no direct proof that ever an agger belonged to it. It had castella, or towers placed upon it at proper distances, generally less than a mile one from another. These, excepting one, which was perhaps older than the wall, were sixty-six foot square ; the wall itself forming the north side of each. It likewise had turrets, probably four betwixt every two castella, at the distance of three hundred and eighteen yards from each other ; which, by the few remains of them, appear to have been four yards square at the bottom. Thus the centinels placed upon them, being within call of each other, a ready communication was kept up through the whole extent of the wall. Upon, or near, this wall were seventeen forts or stations, each considerably larger than the castella : these stood at uncertain distances one from another ; and were thickest and strongest at the two extremities, and in the middle. The wall was generally on the top of high ground, both for strength and prospect ; often built in places, through which it would have been impracticable to have carried Adrian's vallum ; and extends, in the whole, sixty-eight miles one hundred and sixty-nine paces. The thickness of it appears not to have been every where equal ; sometimes it measures seven foot four inches at the foundation ; but where the sea-water has come up to it, as at Boulnefs, nine foot. The wall itself was built of freestone,

of this wall makes it likewise probable, that all the cessions of territory made by the Caledonians

freestone; the stones in the heart of it being broad and thin, set edge-ways, and cemented by pouring upon them liquid mortar. The foundation sometimes is strengthened with oaken piles. The breadth and depth of its ditch is uncertain; but seem to have been about ten foot deep, and twelve foot or more over. The whole was begun at Segedunum, or Cousins-house on the Tine, and carried westward to Timocelum or Boulness. This wall is neither mentioned by Xiphilin nor Herodian, tho' the former mentions that the Meatae dwelt near the wall which divides the island into two parts. It is, however, mentioned by Spartian in the following words: "Arabos in deditionem accepit. Adiabenos in tributarios coegit. Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad sinum oceani; unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit." "He received the submission of the Arabians; he compelled the Adiabeni to become tributary; and fortified Britain (which is the greatest glory of his reign) with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea; where also he took the name of Britannicus." And Aurelius Victor says, "Ob hæc tanta Arabicum, Adiabenicum, et Parthici, cognomina paties dixerunt. His majora aggressus, Britanniam quæ ad ea utilis erat, pulsus hostibus muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto utrinque ad finem oceani." "For these great exploits, the senate complimented him with the surnames Arabicus, Adiabenicus, and Parthicus. He still proceeding to greater things, repelled the enemy in Britain, and fortified the country, which was suited to that purpose, with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea." The same author, in an abridgment, makes the extent of this wall to be but thirty-two miles, as Eutropius makes it only thirty-five. "But as to that abridgment of the Roman history, under the name of Aurelius Victor (says Mr. Innes in his Critical Essay) the author is uncertain, as well as the time he lived in; and the genuine and undoubted work of Aurelius Victor, as we shall see presently, gives much the same account of Severus's wall as Spartian; that it was bounded on each side by the ocean, without any farther account of its dimensions. As to Eutropius, though the vulgar editions give but thirty-two miles to Severus's wall, there is just ground to believe, that the ancient copies had a C or L before the numerical letters XXXII;

nians and the Meatae, consisted of lands to the south of Adrian's wall; and that he meant it as the barrier of his empire in Britain, seems to be plain, from his giving to his officers and soldiers the Meatian lands in the neighbourhood, to be held by a kind of military tenure, that they might protect their own possessions. We shall not however presume to affirm, that some of those lands did not lie in the country of the Meatae, between the prætentures. From the words of Spartian, a Roman historian, we are inclined to think that Severus erected this wall, while he was at peace with the Caledonians.

It is certain, that, notwithstanding the vigour of his mind still subsisted, he was now disabled by age and infirmities; and that he committed the carrying on the wall, and his other great works, to his worthless son Antoninus, afterwards better known by the name of the emperor Caracalla, who had more than

since St. Hierome, near Eutropius's time, who follows him, hath CXXXII. Orosius, about the same time, gives the same dimension; and, after them, Cassiodorus, Ado, Nennius, and others, who give all CXXXII miles to Severus's wall: in which it is highly probable, that the numerical letter L hath been; by error of the translator, altered into that of C, these two letters being easily confounded in ancient MSS. and there being no place in Britain that hath CXXXII miles of breadth; which have apparently given occasion to critics to cut off the C in Eutropius, whereas there is no likelihood of St. Hierome's adding C to the number he found in Eutropius."

once attempted his life : and for the same reason he was obliged to relinquish to him the command of the army.

The brutality of Antoninus was such, that the Caledonians and the Meatae again took arms, and the old emperor was once more called to the field. Being carried in a sedan to the camp, he was so exasperated with this renewal of hostilities, that he gave directions to his soldiers from a verse of Homer, " That they should not spare even the child in the mother's belly." Notwithstanding this, we are intirely ignorant of the consequence; whether the emperor continued in the field, or left the prosecution of his revenge to one of his sons. It is even uncertain whether any hostilities followed, and whether the emperor did not chuse to conclude a peace; for he died soon after, and boasted upon his death-bed, that he had left Britain in tranquility. His greatest ambition was to deserve, and obtain, the name of *Britannicus*, which both he and his son Geta assumed; but the father took the additional title of *Major*. Before we close the history of Severus, we must mention the interview between the empress Julia and the wife of a Caledonian chief *Argentocoxus*. The British lady was among her other countrywomen of quality, who, after the conclusion of the peace, paid a visit to the Roman camp, where she was entertained by the empress for some time; till growing familiar, the

Answer of a
Caledonian
lady.

latter upbraided the British ladies, because, tho' married, they abandoned themselves to the embraces of several men. "It is true (replied the sprightly Caledonian) we are proud to please men of merit; and we commit avowedly with the bravest of our countrymen, what the Roman ladies act in corners with the meanest and most scandalous of theirs."

Remark.

We have this story from Xiphilin, who takes it from Dio, and therefore we can scarcely question its credibility; but it leads to some reflections. If the two ladies conversed together without an interpreter, it is highly probable that the Caledonian understood the Latin language, unless we are to suppose, that the Roman understood the Gaelic or Caledonian. In either case, we must conclude that there was a very considerable intercourse between the two people. Our next observation is, that the word *Argentocoxus*, or Silver-hip, is evidently of Roman coinage; and very possibly alludes to a silver sword-belt worn by the Caledonian. Had Xiphilin or Dio known the Caledonian name of the chief, it might have thrown some light on the history of Scotland at this period; and it is surprizing, that the manufacturers of the history of the first forty kings, who certainly were well acquainted with this anecdote (if the whole of the work was a forgery) did not avail themselves of it, to coin a name somewhat similar to the Roman term. The third,
and

and chief observation we shall make, is upon the indecency and prostitution of the Caledonian ladies. We cannot, however, see with what consistency a princess of a people whose patriots and philosophers used to lend their wives to each other, and then take them back, could upbraid a British lady with the want of delicacy in her amours. If we examine the customs of other nations who were far from being barbarous, the ancient Egyptians, for instance, the Athenians, and the Spartans, we shall find, in matters of concubinage, usages as gross as that with which our Caledonian is reproached. The truth is *, there was a community of wives among the ancient Britons, but of a very singular kind; for it was confined to small circles of friends and acquaintances. Ten or twelve men, perhaps, espoused each of them a virgin, and after cohabitation, every one of their wives was at his friend's service; but the issue was always regarded as belonging to the man who originally married the mother. That this custom was barbarous, we shall not dispute; but the Britons, perhaps, thought (as Sir William Temple says) "that by such a custom they avoided the common mischiefs of jealousy; the injuries of adultery; the confinement of single marriages; the luxury and ex-

* See Sir William Temple's Introduction to the Hist. of England.

pence of many wives or concubines; and the partiality of parents in the education of all their own children: all which are considerations that have fallen under the care of many law-givers."

Donald, first
Christian
king of
Scotland.

Though Donald the first, the prince I now treat of, is supposed to have been the first Christian king of Scotland, or rather Caledonia, yet it scarcely admits of a doubt that Christianity, before his time, had penetrated into that country. Tertullian, who wrote about the year 209, plainly asserts, that Christianity had subdued those places in Britain that were inaccessible to the Roman arms. We shall not however pretend that Christianity was then the national religion of the Caledonians. From the story we have just now related we may infer the contrary; we must notwithstanding observe, that many people who actually embraced Christianity both in Europe and Asia, for some centuries after its introduction, retained many of their Pagan usages, especially with regard to marriage and concubinage. One of the compliments paid by Martial to Claudia Rufina, a British lady and a Christian, was his wishing she might be always happy in one husband.* As to Donald himself, we know little more of him than that he died in peace, according to the old historians, about the year 216.

* Ut conjuge gaudeat uno.

He was succeeded by Ethod, second son of Ethod the first, who being a prince of narrow abilities, at the desire of his subjects, for the better distribution of justice, constituted lieutenants through the different provinces of his dominions. We know little of the Roman affairs in Britain during the supposed reign of this prince, which is said to have been tranquil, and to have lasted for twenty-one years, when he was killed as he was endeavouring to appease a tumult among his subjects. Ethod II.

The subsequent account given by the Scottish writers is consistent with the Roman historians. Severus was succeeded by Caracalla and Geta, who, after ratifying the peace with the Caledonians, returned to Rome about the year 211. The Roman historians are silent as to the affairs of Britain till the year 259. Some inscriptions, however, dug up near the prætentures have preserved the names of certain of their prefects who succeeded Virius Lupus. Mæcilius Fuscus, about the year 238, repaired the barracks and arsenals, which had fallen into decay. Cneius Lucilianus, about the year 240, built a bath, with an exchange or portico; and Nonius Philippus was the Roman proprætor or legate in Britain, about two years after. The History of the Southern Parts of Britain, written by the famous Geoffrey of Monmouth, has supplied this chasm in history with the imaginary exploits of one Fulgentius, who, he says, was
consul

consul of the Albanian Britons, and descended from one of their ancient kings. Fordun has adopted Geoffrey's fables, concerning this Fulgentius, and makes Severus drive him into Scotland, meaning, we suppose, Scythia; from whence he returned by sea with an army of Scots and Picts, besieged York, and killed Severus. Dr. Stillingfleet, an eminent English antiquary, has reproached our old historian Fordun for having been misled in following this fable of Geoffrey. The right reverend author, however, ought to have mentioned, that though Fordun does indeed lay before his readers Geoffrey's narrative, yet he gives them at the same time that of the venerable Bede, which is agreeable to the truth of history; and that when Fordun mentions the emperor Bassianus' being killed by Carausius, which is another of Geoffrey's abominable fictions, he does it with a mark of reprobation, and alleges very sound reasons for his adhering to the Roman historian. Hector Boece is more inexcusable in building upon Geoffrey's foundation.

Upon the whole, we think it indisputable, that during this long interval after the death of Severus, the Romans remained to the south of Adrian's prætenture; though very possibly they might have a few exploratory towers on its north. We may, therefore, very fairly presume that the Caledonians, and their allies the Meatae, had frequent intercourses with their
Roman

Roman neighbours. As to the story of Fulgentius, though the whole of it is evidently forged by Geoffrey; yet there is sufficient reason for believing, that the war between the Romans on the one part, under Severus, and the Caledonians, Meatae, and Picts, on the other, might be full of very interesting events and adventures, though they are suppressed by the Roman historians, perhaps for the honour of their own country.

Under Publius Licinius Gallienus, Porphyry, the Roman philosopher, termed Britain a land fruitful in tyrants; and we are told that no fewer than thirty at one time claimed the imperial purple. The names of some of them appear still upon their coins, which have been found in the southern parts of Britain; but we know not whether any laid claim to Caledonia. In 276 Proculus and Bonosus claimed Britain, Spain, and Gaul; but they were defeated by the emperor Probus: neither does it appear that the Caledonians had any concern in these disputes.

Ethod the second was succeeded by his son Athirco; who, proving a tyrant, was defeated and pursued by his subjects; and, fearing to fall into their hands, put himself to death. Nathalocus, whose daughters Athirco is said to have deflowered, headed this insurrection, and usurped the throne; but Dorus, Athirco's brother, fled with his three nephews, Findoc, Carantius,

Athirco,

Nathalocus,

rantius, and Donald, to the court of the king of the Picts. Notwithstanding the air of romance which infects the Scotch history at this period, we have no reason to doubt that such a Pictish king then existed; as it is probable that the Picts, who were the descendants of the Southern Britons, and the Caledonians, might live under separate governments; and because we know for a certainty, that the Pictish kingdom flourished many years after this date. Nathalocus having sent assassins to dispatch Dorus and his nephews, they killed a Pict, by mistake, for Dorus. Nathalocus having missed his aim, and perceiving that Dorus had a strong party in his kingdom, ordered all the noblemen whom he thought to be in the royal interest, to be strangled. This cruelty produced an insurrection; and the usurper, according to the manner of the times, sent to Colmsila, the famous Jona of the ancients, to consult a woman who was reputed to be a weird sister, about his fate. She told him that the king was to be short-lived; but that he would fall by the hand not of an enemy, but a domestic. The messenger demanding the name of the assassin, "Thou art the man," replied the weird sister. Her declaration determined him to the act; which, upon his return, he perpetrated for his own safety. The name of this domestic is said to have been Murray, and the story is far more probable than many others of the same kind we meet with
in

in later ages, and among the most polite people.

Findoc, Athrico's eldest son, received intel- Findoc.
ligence of the tyrant's fate from Murray him-
self, and was immediately proclaimed king. He
possessed all the perfections of body and mind;
and subdued the islanders, who, under Donald
their chieftain, attempted to revenge the death
of Nathalocus. Another Donald, son of the
former, who was drowned, being driven in-
to Ireland, received, afterwards, Findoc's par-
don; and returning home, he sent two ruffians,
who gained the ear of Carantius the king's bro-
ther, and his permission to assassinate the king,
which they accordingly did while he was hunt-
ing: but they were overtaken and put to death,
and Carantius took refuge among the Romans.
We think it necessary to inform our readers, that
all these facts are omitted by the honest histo-
rian Fordun, though related by Bæce and Bu-
chanan.

Donald, the youngest of Athirco's sons, be- Donald.
ing raised to the throne, was, in the first year
of his reign, defeated and killed by Donald
of the Isles; who, thereupon, usurped the Donald of
the Isles.
crown, but was defeated and killed by Cra-
thilinth, the son of Findoc. This prince, Crathilinth.
after his accession, proved a strict justicia-
ry, and renewed his family-leagues with the
Picts. A trifling accident at a hunting-match is,
however, said to have cost the lives of three

thousand of his own subjects, and two thousand of the Picts : upon which hostilities commenced between the two nations. About this time, the famous Carausius appeared. It must be acknowledged, to the reproach of literature, that notwithstanding all the pains taken by Dr. Stukeley, and other antiquaries, to clear up the history of this British emperor (for such he certainly was) it still remains obscure ; and we are likewise to observe, that about the time we now treat of, the name of the Caledonians began to wear out among the Romans, who substituted that of Picts in its room. We must, notwithstanding, be of opinion, that they lived under distinct governments, and in this we are countenanced by the earliest records. The uncertainty of the history of Carausius proved too great a temptation for Boece to resist, and accordingly he makes him the same person with the exiled Caledonian prince Carantius. It is certain that Carausius, who is said to have been by birth a Menapiian, had about this time begun to make a great figure at sea. The emperor Probus had carried over to Britain, large colonies of Vandals and Burgundians, to whom he had assigned land there. The Roman prefect, whom some call Lælianus, and some Saturninus, at this time, assumed the imperial purple ; but was soon crushed by Victorinus, the imperial general ; and Britain experienced a succession of tyrants, till Dioclesian and Maximian

Conjecture
about Carausius ;

mian were raised to the empire. About the time of their accession, the coasts of Gaul and Britain were swarming with Saxon, or German; free-booters; and the charge of suppressing them was committed to Carausius, who winked at their frequent descents, that he might take their ships when returning home and full of booty, which he entirely appropriated to his own use. His practices, in short, became so glaring, that he was sentenced to be put to death. To avoid this fate, he assumed the imperial purple, and carried his fleet to Britain, where the Roman army submitted to his authority. Thus far history is clear as to Carausius; nor do we see any absurdity in supposing, that after his landing, he entered into a treaty with the Picts and Caledonians, especially as Maximian was then at sea with a fleet and army to suppress him; but there can be no foundation for saying with some writers, that he assigned Scotland to the Picts for the assistance they gave him.

Maximian, perceiving that Carausius was too strong to be subdued, agreed to a treaty which left him in full possession of the sovereignty of the provinciated Britain, as appears by many undoubted medals, and other monuments, in the cabinets of the curious, where Carausius is represented as Augustus or emperor. He reigned as such for seven years; and was likewise in possession of Gesloriacum, now called Boulogne, by which he had the command both of the Armoric

moric and the British coasts. He is said to have repaired, or rather rebuilt, the wall of Antoninus, or Urbicus, between the friths of Forth and Clyde, in the year 289; and we are told, that he had an interview with Crathilinth (whom the Scotch historians call his nephew) near the river Carron. There is reason for believing that he repaired part of the wall of Severus, though, in reality, we know little of his true history besides what is to be found on coins and medals; but these prove him to have been one of the most illustrious personages of that age. It is an undoubted fact, that Constantius, Cæsar to Maximian, was the only general of the age, thought to be a match for Carausius; and that the fleet of the latter was composed of sailers from all nations, who, according to the Roman historians, were paid by the plunder of the neighbouring countries.

This drew on a war between Carausius and the Roman empire; and Constantius besieged Gessoriacum, which was very strongly fortified. The death of the emperor is one of the most obscure events in history. It is said, that when Constantius laid siege to Gessoriacum, or Boulogne, Carausius was murdered by Alecctus, one of his general officers, who succeeded him in the empire of Britain, and reigned three years. If this account can be depended upon, we may presume that Alecctus was suborned to the assassination by the Romans, who were at that time
far

his fate,

far from being delicate in such cases. The history of Aleetus is equally obscure and uncertain with that of Carausius, and, as related by the Roman historians, inconsistent with their own chronology. Constantius undoubtedly landed in Britain, and burnt his ships, to take from his soldiers all hopes of return without victory. Aleetus had by this time become unpopular among the Britons ; his fleet, after the landing of the Romans, was of no farther service to him for preventing an invasion ; and he was defeated and killed by Asclepiodotus, a general officer under Constantius. The rest of the history of Constantius, at that time, is foreign to this work.

Upon the division of the empire between the two Cæsars, after the resignations of Dioclesian and Maximian, Britain fell to the lot of Constantius. It is highly probable that Carausius was so far from being a free-booter, as he is represented by the Roman historians, that he introduced several arts among the Britons, by means of the Franks, and other foreigners, whom he took into his pay ; because Constantius, at the time of his accession, found Britain so much improved, that he made it the seat of empire, and is said to have taken a British lady, the famous Helena, to be the partner of his bed. What the situation of the Caledonians and Picts was during the reigns of Carausius and Aleetus, is uncertain ; but there is great reason to believe,

lieve, that they had extended themselves to the southward of Adrian's prætenture. It is more than probable, that Constantius undertook an expedition against them; but we are ignorant of its particulars, except that he reinforced the garrisons upon the frontiers*, and then established a general peace. Thus we may presume, that the Caledonians and Picts were in possession of all the country of the Meatae; unless (which is highly improbable) the garrisons mentioned by Eusebius were those belonging to the prætenture of Urbicus. The peace between him and the Caledonians was somewhat disturbed upon the arrival of his son Constantine at York, which happened but a short time before the death of Constantius. The first care of Constantine, after his accession to his father's empire, was to repel the inroads of the Caledonians; but, contrary to the maxims of the preceding emperors (his father in particular) he withdrew the Roman garrisons from the frontiers. We have already given our opinion, which is confirmed by events, that the Roman prætentures were huge magnificent erections, but never proved of any effectual service against the Caledonians and Picts: it is however probable, that Constantine still left one or two garrisons upon the frontiers. He certainly added to the three divisions of Southern

* See Eusebius.

Britain, that of the *Maxima Cæsariensis*. According to some antiquaries, this division included, besides the northern counties of England, the whole country of the *Meatæ*; and if so, the prætenture of *Antoninus*, or *Urbicus*, must have been the boundary of the Roman empire in Britain, towards the north, at the time of *Constantine's* death: but we know of no medals, inscriptions, or stones, relating to *Constantine*, which confirm this conjecture: though we are far from affirming that such may not have been discovered. During those transactions *Crathlinth* died, after a reign of twenty-four years, about the year 313.

The history of Scotland, at this period, is again corroborated by the Roman and foreign writers. We have no reason to doubt, that, during *Dioclesian's* persecution, great numbers of Christians took refuge among the *Caledonians* and *Picts*; and that, before that time, the Scots were actually settled in Britain. Historians and antiquaries have given themselves great trouble concerning the origin of the name of Scots, and the country from whence they came. I think the enquiry is not deserving the pages it has employed, and that the dispute has hitherto been mis-stated. I have no manner of difficulty in admitting with bishop *Stillingfleet*, and the most rational antiquaries, that the word Scot is no other than the word *Scyt*, or *Scythian*, the native country of many people. I am,

Origin of
the Scots,

however, of opinion that they quitted (but at what period, we are entirely ignorant) their original seats in several bands, and at several times; that they marched, or sailed, in separate bodies, into various countries (for that the northern nations had then a rude navigation is unquestionable); that wherever they went they were called Scots, or Scyts; that their chief settlements were in Spain and Ireland; and that considerable bodies of them landed on the western coasts of Scotland: but I see no reason for believing, that they were sent over thither from Ireland. It is, on the contrary, highly probable that the Irish coasts, immediately opposite to Scotland, were peopled from thence by the Guydhels, or whoever were the old inhabitants of those parts, for this plain and natural reason, because the country of Ireland is, there, a far more inviting soil, than the opposite coasts of Scotland*. Add to this, that Carrickfergus in Ireland, may be easily seen from Scotland; that a small boat can row over to it in three or four hours; and consequently, that it has been always accessible to the rudest navigation. Such, abstracted from the wild dreams of the Scotch writers concerning Gathælus and Scota, a daughter of Pharaoh, is the most probable account of the origin of the Scots, and the best adapted to remove the dif-

* See Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 103. Lond. Edit. 1691.

ficulties which occur among antiquaries and old historians. As to arguments drawn from a similarity of languages, they prove nothing more than that the language of all those ancient nations was the same, that is, Celtic; and that their words, to this day, retain an affinity; but of this matter we have already treated.

Upon the whole, I am warranted in supposing that the country now called Scotland, at the time I treat of, was inhabited by different nations; that the Caledonians were the aboriginal natives; that the Gwydhelians were the descendants of the old Britons, whom the Belgic Britons forced northwards before the descent of Julius Cæsar upon the island; that the Picts, who lived in Scotland, were the descendants of those Belgic Britons; that the Scots were adventurers, who originally came from the northern countries; and that more polite nations termed them Scythians, because of their uncouth, barbarous appearance; from whence the Britons first named them Skuits, and the Romans, from them, called them Scoti. That a colony of those Skuits, or Scots, might be brought under Miletius, or some other leader, from Spain to Ireland, where they settled, from whence Ireland formerly had the name of Scotia, by no means clashes with my account. The truth is, antiquaries have bewildered themselves in their conjectures and

who were
adventurers.

disputes, by not attending to the universality of the Celtic language.

Though we have supposed the Scots, at this time, to have inhabited the western parts of Scotland, yet I am far from thinking, that parties of them might not have landed on other parts of the coasts; and it seems to be more than probable, that about the year 330, they might have found means to collect themselves into one body, so as to make head against the Romans. I cannot even perceive any absurdity in thinking, that many of them, before their arrival in Scotland, might have served as mercenaries in the frequent wars which then desolated the empire. It is well known, the Roman armies, at that time, were composed of disciplined provincials and barbarians; and that no set of adventurers could ever be without employment in the field. The superiority which the Scots soon acquired, and afterwards maintained, over the Picts and Caledonians, though, probably, greatly inferior in numbers to both, render this opinion the more probable.

Fincormach.

The successor assigned to Crathilinth by the Scotch writers is Fincormach, who is represented as performing many glorious exploits against the Romans, and as a prince of great Christian piety. Constantine died in the year 337; and we know little or nothing from the Roman historians

terians of the affairs of Britain for some years after his death. According to the Scotch and British historians, Trahern, brother to the empress Helena, was left by Constantine his lieutenant in Britain; and defeated Octavius, whom the South Britons had chosen for their king. Octavius, after his defeat, fled to Fincormach, from whom Trahern demanded him. Fincormach had spirit enough, not only to refuse to give Octavius up, but to raise an army to restore him to his throne; which he actually did, after defeating Trahern, and forcing him to fly to Gaul. We are told that Octavius, in return for Fincormach's services, ceded to him the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland; by which, perhaps, we are to understand the country of the Meatae. Octavius soon repented of his generosity; but as he was preparing to dispossess Fincormach of his new acquisition, Trahern returned at the head of twenty thousand men, and defeated Octavius, who fled to Norway. Upon the death of Trahern, he mounted his throne a third time, and ever after lived upon amicable terms with the Scots and the Picts; the name of the Caledonians being now almost disused. Fincormach is said to have died in 358. Whatever truth may be in the above relation, it is certain, that under the emperor Constantine, the nations to the north of the Roman prætentures made so considerable an impression upon South Britain, that he was obliged to

to go over in the middle of winter to suppress them. He was attended by his brother Constantius. Whether they were successful, does not appear, which gives some countenance to the Scotch accounts of this period. They are, indeed, omitted by Buchanan, which is the more extraordinary, as they are admitted by Fordun.

Three cousin - Germans, begotten by three brothers of Crathilinth, whose names were Romach, Fethelmach, and Angus, or Æneas, disputed for the crown after the death of Fincormach; though he left two minor sons, Ethod and Eugene, who were carried to the Isle of Man, then subject to the crown of Scotland.

Romach. Romach being descended from the elder brother, was favoured by the Picts, mounted the throne, and forced the other two competitors to leave the kingdom: but proving a tyrant, his nobles put him to death, and, by way of derision, carried his head about upon a pole. His death was resented by Neftan, king of the Picts,

Æneas. his kinsman, who being defeated by Æneas, this last succeeded Romach. Neftan, however, again took the field, and, after a bloody battle, Æneas being defeated and killed, was succeeded by

Fethelmach. Fethelmach, the third competitor above-mentioned, who ravaged the counties of Fife and Angus, part of the Pictish dominions, and killed their king; but was himself afterwards stabbed by his harper, who had been suborned for that pur-

purpose by the Picts. Fethelmach was succeeded by Eugene the first, son of Fincormach. Under him, the Roman and Pictish forces were united against the Caledonians and Scots. The name of the Pictish king was Hergust, and that of the Roman præfect Maximus. The Roman and Pictish forces joined against Eugene, whom they defeated in the county of Galloway; but Maximus, unable to improve his victory, by being obliged to return to the south, where an insurrection had happened, separated from the Picts, who were thereupon defeated by the Scots. Next year, Maximus, whose secret intention was to root out both the Scots and Picts, marched against the former, on pretence of revenging the wrongs done by them to the latter. The Scots, seeing their extermination was intended, brought into the field, not only the men capable of bearing arms, but their women likewise. In an engagement which ensued, they would have beaten the Picts and Britons, had not the latter been supported by the disciplined Romans; but Eugene being killed, with the greatest part of his nobility, the Scots were completely defeated, the survivors reduced to a state of slavery; and finally expelled the country. Some of them took refuge in the Ebudæ islands, and others in Scandinavia and Ireland. From thence they made frequent descents upon Scotland, with good, bad, and indifferent success.

Maxi-

Maximus afterwards assumed the imperial dignity ; but was killed in Italy. The Britons chose Constantine to succeed him ; and upon his death Gratian, who being likewise killed, Victorinus was sent as proprætor from Rome, to govern Britain. The Picts had hitherto appeared as allies of the Romans ; but Victorinus commanded them to adopt the Roman laws, and to chuse no king who was not sent them from Rome. The Picts looking upon those injunctions as tending to a state of slavery, repented of their having contributed to the expulsion of the Scots, who had made several unsuccessful attempts to resettle themselves.

Fergus II.

Durftus, son of Hergust the Pictish king, rebelled against the Romans, but was defeated, and sent prisoner to Rome. The royal family of Scotland at that time resided in Denmark. The heads of it were Ethod, and his son Erth : both of them died in exile ; but the latter married a Danish princess, by whom he had a son, Fergus, who followed the fortunes of Alaric the famous Goth, and was present at the sack of the city of Rome in the year 410, by the northern barbarians. Here the first division of our history of Scotland ends ; but we must preserve our proposed method, by accompanying it with what we learn from the Romans.

Magnentius was, by the Roman Britons, declared emperor in opposition to Constantius, the surviving son of Constantine the Great.

The

The father of Magnentius was a Briton, and his claim was favoured by Gratianus Funarius, the imperial general upon the island; but, after a dispute of three years, Magnentius was so much reduced that he killed himself at Lyons in France. Constantius becoming thereby the sole possessor of the empire, sent over one Paul, a Spanish notary, as an inquisitor, to confiscate the estates of such Britons who had joined Magnentius. Paul proceeding with great severity in the exercise of this infamous office, was opposed by one Martin, a generous Roman, who attempted to kill him; but missing his blow, he plunged his sword into his own bosom. The cruelties and rapaciousness of Paul had then no check; however, in the time of Julian the Apostate, he met with a deserved fate, by being burnt alive. All this time the Northern Britons were continuing their ravages to the south of the Roman prætentures. Julian sent over Lupicinus, an abandoned monster of avarice and cruelty, to restrain them; but, though he landed with a large army, composed of different nations, he performed nothing memorable. Alypius is the next Roman governor we meet with in Britain; and when Valentinian came to the imperial throne, the Roman interest in Britain was almost extinguished by the irruptions of the northern nations. They defeated and killed Nectoridus, count of the sea-coast, one of the greatest men under the Roman government, and Bu-

Vol. I. N lehobaudes,

lêhobaudes, another general of great distinction. Valentinian sent Severus to repel the invaders, and he, being soon recalled, was succeeded by Jovinus. This last, when he arrived, found the Roman affairs so desperate that he solicited a supply from the imperial court; and Theodosius, esteemed the best general of the age, was sent with a large army from the continent against the Picts, who appear to have been, at this time, the leading people in the north of Britain. They were divided into two nations, the Dicaledonii and the Vecturiones, who were no other than the southern and the northern inhabitants. The former had been converted to Christianity by St. Ninian, a Briton, and were separated from the latter by the Grampian mountains. For this information we are indebted to the unexceptionable authorities of Ammianus Marcellinus and the venerable Bede. Mention is likewise made of the Attacotti, a most warlike race, who we believe, were a tribe of Scythians or Scots, inhabiting Caithness and the northern counties; and even the Scots are mentioned as making war at this time upon the Romans.

When Theodosius landed, he found the Roman empire in Britain in a manner cooped up in the southern parts; the Picts and the Scots having penetrated almost as far as the Britannia Prima, which lay to the south of London. The northern invaders being chiefly intent upon

plunder, and, as we may suppose, poorly disciplined, it was no difficult matter for such a general as Theodosius, at the head of a numerous army, to repel them. He formed his troops into three divisions; and, having stripped the invaders of their plunder, restored it to the original proprietors. He then returned to London, to consult in what manner the Roman interest could be revived and preserved. This he found a far more difficult consideration than he had foreseen. The Caledonians and Picts had inspired their southern brethren with a spirit of revolt; and the accounts which the Roman general received of their courage and fierceness, gave him every thing to apprehend, if he should receive the least check in the field. It was, however, necessary for him to drive the northern invaders beyond the prætentures; accordingly Theodosius, committing the charge of the civil affairs to a Roman lawyer, and the military to one Dulcitius, took the field, and with great difficulty forced his enemies to the north of Adrian's wall; and, at last, compelled them to agree to a peace. He then applied himself to the strengthening of the frontiers, which he found in a most miserable situation. The Roman historian is lavish in his praises of the care Theodosius took to repeople the cities, and recruit the garrisons, that lay towards the North. He observed that the prætentures were an insignificant barrier against the northern nations; and he, therefore,

erected into a separate province (which, from the name of the emperor Valens, was called Valentia) all the lands lying between the prætentures of Adrian and Urbicus, and which is known by the name of the country of the Meatae. This measure was founded on sound policy; as we may well suppose that the province was, in a manner, new-peopled by Roman subjects. In fact, Theodosius entirely altered and regulated the system of the Roman government in Britain, by reducing it to a regular order.

This appears by the celebrated Notitia, published by Pancirollus, which contains a list of the civil and military officers of the Roman empire in Britain, and was probably written in the time of Theodosius the Younger; but the particulars are foreign to this history, as the establishment was confined to South Britain. Mention is made of the Arcani, a set of men employed as lookers-out upon the prætenture, and whose business it was to give warning of the motions of the northern nations. These not only neglecting their duty, but even confederating with the enemy, Theodosius moved them from their posts, and then returned to the continent with as great a character as any of the ancient Romans ever bore. Upon the whole, there is reason to believe this campaign of Theodosius in Britain to have been the most glorious of any made by the Romans

The Arcani.

mans since the days of Agricola. That the Scots were then settled in the northern parts of the island, appears unquestionably from the testimony of Claudian, and other writers. It seems likewise certain, that Theodosius carried his arms into Ierne, the inhabitants of which he subdued: but antiquaries are divided in opinion, whether by that Ierne was signified Ireland, or Strathern, which lies on the banks of the river Ierne, or Ern, in Scotland. The point has been warmly agitated between the Scotch and English antiquaries. For my own part, I can see no acquisition gained by the Scots, either in point of antiquity or dignity, in admitting that their forefathers had the honour of being put to the sword by the Romans. Neither is it very easy to ascertain the glory which can result to England, by supposing that the Romans carried their victorious arms into Ireland.

The brave Theodosius was succeeded by Frömarius, as legate of Britain; but we know little or nothing of his exploits there. The emperor Gratian made the younger Theodosius, son to the conqueror of the Picts, his associate in the empire. Maximus, a general of great merit, resenting the preference given to Theodosius, assumed the imperial purple in Britain; and his usurpation falls in with the period which the most authentic accounts of the

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the Scots fix as the commencement of their monarchy.

To conclude, the reader is to judge for himself as to the credit due to the narrative which I have taken from the Scotch historians. It is not, I acknowledge, easy to ascertain the authorities upon which Boece founds his history; but I dare not reject the whole. Some part of it may be true, because it is countenanced by Roman and co-temporary writers. We know of no disability that the inhabitants of the northern parts of the island, who had so great an intercourse with the Romans, were under, from recording the actions of their own times: nor do we think that the high antiquities of many countries, which have been adopted by history, rest upon a more solid foundation than that of the Scots. The probability of the facts recorded, is, perhaps, the strongest evidence which can be brought, that the history of the first forty kings, here given, is the composition of later times; because those coined in more early ages, teem with marvellous and miraculous incidents.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK THE SECOND.

From the Establishment of that Monarchy,
under FERGUS, the Son of EARTH,
to the Death of KENNETH MAC-
ALPIN, in 855.

NENNIUS, the oldest and most unex-
ceptionable historian of British affairs,
as confined to this island, gives sufficient
evidence that the Irish and the British Scots
were a distinct people, while the island was un-
der the power of the Romans; and this, we
think, admits of no doubt. The testimonies
produced by the Scots for their antiquities as
high as the year of our Lord 400 (though fall-
ing far short of their pretended antiquity) are
full and strong, because they are taken from
records which time has providentially preserved
from the ravages which their archives under-
went

Irish and
Scots diffe-
rent people.

went from Edward the first of England. From them it appears, that such a person as Fergus, the son of Erth, was king of the Scots at the period I have mentioned; but who this Fergus was, or what was the extent of his dominions, are matters of historical disquisition; nor can they be cleared up but by probable deductions.

Maximus.

Maximus, whom I have already mentioned, having assumed the imperial purple in Britain, grew so popular by the checks which he gave to the Scots and Picts, that he carried over with him to the continent a considerable army of Britons, with which he subdued and killed Gratian. Were I to hazard a conjecture, I should be of opinion, that Maximus found means to transport with him a large body of the Scots, who were then confessedly the most warlike part of the inhabitants of Caledonia; and that this gave rise to the supposed evacuation of Britain by the Scots, at this time. Be that as it may, it seems to be certain, that upon Maximus' leaving the island, the northern inhabitants renewed their incursions, and again pierced the prætentures, about the time that Theodosius defeated Maximus. When the latter was dead, the Britons who served under him dispersed themselves, and the bulk of them settled in Armorica in France, now called, from them, Britany. Those facts being established, we can see no manner of absurdity in supposing, that the Scots, who served under Maximus, separated

parated themselves from the Southern Britons, and returned to the island. The oldest monument we now have, previous to the destruction of their archives by Edward the first, expressly mentions Fergus as reigning in Argyleshire; and from his time, the succession of the Scotch kings is uninterrupted. We shall, however, consistently with our plan, relate his history, as given by Scotch writers.

We have already seen how the Scots were expelled the island at the instigation of the Picts; but we are told by their historians, that Maximus would willingly have protected them, which is a strong confirmation of our conjecture that he carried numbers of them over to the continent. Upon the death of Alaric, Gal-
Fergus II.
 la Placidia, sister to the emperor Honorius, persuaded Adaulphus, who had succeeded Alaric, to send Fergus with a body of troops to Britain; and he accordingly arrived there in 421. He was immediately joined by the Picts, who being now sensible of their impolitic animosities against the Scots, joined with them in attacking the Britons: and in this the Scotch history is supported by the Roman. The younger Theodosius having left his empire to his sons Arcadius and Honorius, Britain fell under the dominion of the latter, who employed the famous Stilico as his general; by whose means the Scots and Picts were driven to the north of the prætentures. Some have thought that

Stilico never was in Britain; but I am inclined to the opposite opinion; tho' it is certain, that in his time Nictorinus likewise commanded there. The following passage, in Claudian, gives some countenance to the Scots landing in Argyle from Ireland :

“ Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernem
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis :
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum timerem, nec littore tote
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.”

TRANSLATED.

“ Me when of peace a barbarous foe bereav'd,
His cares protected, and his courage fav'd :
Propp'd by his hand, when Ireland's hostile tide
Bore all her youth to wound my fenceless side ;
Fearless, the sight of Scots and Picts I bore,
And all the swarms of Saxons on my shore.”

This tranquility of Britain was of no long continuance; for the progress which the Goths made in Italy obliged Stilico to recal the Roman troops, who had repelled the Scots and Picts. No sooner were those orders executed than the same incursions were renewed; and we learn from Zosimus the historian, that the emperor Honorius wrote a letter to the provinciated Britons, exhorting them to exert their own courage in repelling the northern invaders.

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The Britons, on receiving this letter, considered it as their emancipation from the Roman government, and immediately raised one Marcus to the sovereignty. Marcus being in a short time put to death, was succeeded by Gratian, who experiencing the like fate, Constantine, a brave able general, assumed the purple. This prince carried an army of Britons over to the continent; but he was put to death in the year 411. In the mean while, the Britons being deserted by their new-raised emperor, returned to their duty under Honorius, and humbly applied to him for assistance against the Scots and Picts. A legion was accordingly sent them about the year 414, who supported the Roman interest till the year 419, and then they were recalled. Those events bring our history near the time fixed by the Scots for the establishment of their monarchy, under Fergus, the son of Erth. The Roman government was, at that time, so pressed by the Goths and other barbarous nations, that the emperors could not conveniently afford the Britons farther succours; but they exhorted them to repair, and garrison the prætentures. These were but feeble barriers against the Scots, who were furnished with small ships, in which they made frequent descents on South Britain. Again the Britons made the most lamentable complaints to the Roman emperor, and Gallio, of Ravenna, was sent to their relief. This general advised them to give up to the

Scots all the territory to the north of Adrian's wall ; and after giving them directions how to fortify it, the Romans took their final leave of the island. We are therefore to return to the Scotch historians.

Graham, or
Græme.

One Graham, or Græme, is assigned as the general and father-in-law of Fergus, and is said to have been by birth a Dane. I take the name to be the common designation of the northern tribes, who lived in tents without any fixed habitation ; and the Græmes are, even in the reign of Edward the sixth, mentioned in the English records as a people who lived between the two prætentures. All our writers agree that Graham was a profest enemy to the provinciated Britons, and demolished great part of one of the prætentures, which, from him, is called Graham's-Dike. Three independent kings are mentioned as reigning at this time in Britain : Fergus, king of the Scots ; Durstus, king of the Picts ; and Dioneth, a British prince. The two former are said to have fallen in battle, against the Romans, in 430, about five years before the Romans evacuated the island. In all this narrative, there is no striking incongruity between the Roman and Scotch historians.

Distress of
the Britons.

Fergus left behind him three sons, Eugene, Dongard, and Constantius, who, being minors, were put under the guardianship of Graham. This nobleman retaining his implacable enmity to the Britons, brought into the field all the Scots
who

who were capable of bearing arms; and the Britons were so much distressed, that they applied to Ætius the Roman general in Gaul, for assistance. Their complaints were extremely pathetic. They represented that their distresses were brought upon them by the aids they had sent to the Romans upon the continent, which had so greatly impoverished their country, and occasioned such a scarcity of hands, that they were then afflicted by a famine. "The barbarians (say they, in their letter to Ætius) drive us to the sea; the sea repels us upon the barbarians: thus, we have the alternative of two deaths, either of being put to the sword, or perishing in the waves, without any prospect of relief." Ætius gave them no succour; but they obtained a short respite from the famine and mortality which then reigned among their enemies, as well as themselves. The truth is, the Romans had kept the Britons, for some years before their departure out of the island, in such a state of subjection, that they were ignorant of all the arts of life, and even of agriculture. Whether their enemies were less barbarous, admits of dispute; but they certainly were more brave. They carried with them hooks and grappling-irons, with which they pulled the unhappy Britons from their walls, part of which they thirled or perforated. By this time Eugene, the eldest son of Fergus the second (as the Scots commonly call him) having, in conjunction with

Eugene.

with the king of the Picts, reduced the Britons to the most deplorable condition, granted them peace upon the following terms : " That they should not send for any Roman or other foreign army to assist them ; that they should not admit them, if they came voluntarily or unsolicited, nor allow them to march through their country ; that the enemies of the Scots and Picts should be theirs also ; that, without their permission, they should not make peace or war, nor send aid to any who desired it ; that the limits of their kingdom should be the river Humber ; that they should also make present payment of a certain sum of money, by way of mulct, to be divided among the soldiers, which also was to be paid yearly by them ; and that they should give an hundred hostages, such as the confederate kings should approve of."

A revolution.

Upon Eugene's return to his own country, a great revolution happened in the southern part of Britain. A number of petty tyrants set up for themselves ; of whom Vortigern proved the most fortunate. Being a pusillanimous, tyrannical prince, and finding himself threatened with a fresh invasion from the North, he invited the Saxons to his assistance. The history of the Saxons, who afterwards subdued all England, is foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say here, that they were attended by the Jutes and the Angles, two Danish tribes, from the latter of whom England has her name. This happened

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**ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.**



DONGARDUS.

ed in the year 458, and the fact is recorded by Bede, who lived in 677; but the history of Vortigern is confused and uncertain. There is reason to believe that the Scots and Picts had made, at that time, a great progress in South Britain; and that a battle was fought between these nations on the one side, and the Saxons and Britons on the other, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire. The Scots were armed with darts and lances, and their enemies with axes and scymetars, by which the latter obtained the victory. As to Eugene, it is uncertain whether he was drowned in the Humber, or died a natural death; but it is universally allowed that he was a most excellent prince, and reigned thirty years.

Eugene was succeeded by his brother Dongard, a prince likewise of great merit, who endeavoured to propagate the Christian religion in his dominions, when they were invaded by the Britons in the fifth year of his reign. According to some historians, he and his allies, the Picts, fought a great battle on the banks of the Humber with the Britons, in which the latter lost sixteen thousand men, and the former fourteen thousand, together with their king Dongard. Buchanan makes no mention of this battle, and Fordun leaves it uncertain. It seems to be an undoubted fact, that Vortigern the British prince was persuaded to call in an additional supply of Saxons to his aid; and that they made

made a descent upon Scotland, and afterwards settled in Northumberland, from whence they drove the Scots. Hengist the Saxon leader, being pressed by the Britons under Vortimer, son to Vortigern, clapped up a peace with the Scots and Picts, and by their assistance fought a bloody, but indecisive battle, with the Britons, in Kent, of which we find Hengist king in 458. Next year another battle was fought near Folkestone, and soon after Vortimer died. It does not appear from the Saxon Chronicle (the most authentic record we have of that age) that the Scots and Picts were present at the battle of Folkestone; but it gives us room to think that the Britons were defeated in both engagements; and we are told by the English ecclesiastical historians, that the Picts had joined the Saxons, and were present at the battle in which the latter were defeated by the Britons under bishop Germanus. The death of Dongard is fixed to the year 465. At this time Ambrosius was king of the Southern Britons; but we learn from history, that the Scots and the Picts now pursued opposite interests. The former were the allies of the Britons, as the latter were of the Saxons. Ohta, Hengist's son, and Abisa, his nephew, brought from Germany the new recruits who peopled the northern parts of England, and were, at one time, in possession of all the country of the Meatae between the prætentures. Thus this new colony served for a barrier to prevent the

State of
Britain.





CONSTANTINE, I.

the Scots from penetrating to the assistance of the Britons. Though we are ignorant as to the particulars, yet it is certain, that, at the time we now treat of, the Meatae had formed themselves into a kingdom, the capital of which was Alcluyd or Areclud, now Dumbarton. This kingdom was called Regnum Cambrense, or Cumbrense; but the frequent ravages of the Picts, Scots, Caledonians, and Britons, seem to have rendered their territory a scene of desolation, and they were perpetually changing their masters. It is not improbable, that they at last found their safety in uniting under a leader, whom they called their king; and that they maintained a kind of independence, both upon the Picts, Britons, and Saxons, so late as the time of the Norman invasion of England. Many chartularies and lives of saints, written before that time, mention the names of their kings, with a few incidents of their reigns; and that the people were Britons appears from their being called, in the year 875, Strath-clyde Welch. We shall have an opportunity of mentioning the time and manner in which they became subject to the Scots.

Dongard was succeeded by his brother, Constantine the first; and here it is safest for us to rely upon the British and Saxon historians. Ambrosius was well served by the Scots, to whom he gave a settlement between the two prætentures. It is highly probable, and it appears indeed almost

Constantine.

confirmed by history, that the Southern Britons beheld this settlement with a jealous eye, and thought it an encroachment upon their countrymen the Strath-clyde Welch, who were pent up in Dumbarton, and the western parts. They accordingly presented several remonstrances to Ambrosius, who was, at last, obliged to re-demand the lands he had granted; but the Scots were so far from yielding to this requisition, that they prepared to maintain their settlement by force of arms; and the terror of the Saxons, then intimately connected with the Picts, had such an influence on Ambrosius and the Britons, that they confirmed their grant of the disputable lands to the Scots, and entered into a fresh league with them, which continued till the Saxons established their heptarchy in South Britain. We are told by the same authorities, that the Scots proved of infinite service to the Britons on this occasion; for being lightly armed, they were more quick, both in their attacks and retreats, than the Saxons, whose armour was heavy. All the assistance which the Scots afforded to their allies could not, however, prevent the latter from being at last ruined, by the fresh shoals of Saxons which every day poured in from the continent. As to Constantine, his personal history is very doubtful. Buchanan, after Boece, represents him as a degenerated prince, and that his subjects rebelled against him, for having abandoned himself to every species of lust and vice.

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A. Smith sc.

CONGALLUS.

They also censure him for making some cessions to the Britons; and it is not improbable that he might give up part of his territory upon the re-establishment of the late peace. Boece particularly mentions several castles standing upon the river Humber; and says, that one Dougal of Galloway, who was undoubtedly a nobleman of the Meatae, preserved Constantine from the rage of his subjects; but that he was afterwards killed by a chief of the Ebudæ Isles, whose daughter he had debauched. Fordun, whose authority is preferable to Boece and Buchanan, takes no notice of Constantine's vicious course of life, and intimates that he died in peace in 479, after reigning twenty-two years.

We are told that Congal, son of Dengard, Congal II who succeeded Constantine, was the true heir to the crown; that he ratified the peace with the Britons; and in conjunction with them carried on war against the Picts. He conquered the latter, but the former were vanquished by the Saxons, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of the Scots to support them. The incidents related of this prince by Boece, are destitute of all foundation in contemporary histories; neither is it safe to adopt the fabulous accounts of some authors concerning the famous British worthy king Arthur. If that hero actually invaded the Scotch territories, and penetrated as far as Edinburgh (which we have some reason to believe he did) it was, probably,

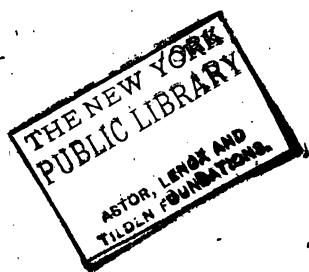
bably, in pursuit of the Picts, or their Saxon allies, whom he defeated more than once in Lincolnshire: but the most ancient historians give no countenance to an invasion of Scotland by Arthur; on the contrary, both William of Malmfbury, as well as the venerable Bede, mention the Britons and Scots as making war upon the Saxons and Picts. Upon the death of Congal, in 501, he was succeeded by his brother Gonran, who had commanded a body of Scots against the Saxons. In his time Uther Pendragon is said to have reigned over the Britons. According to Fordun, this prince attempted to take Westmoreland from the Scots; but was at last compelled, by the incursions of the Saxons, to renew the ancient league with Gonran, who proved a virtuous prince, as well as great justiciary, and had credit enough to persuade the king of the Picts (named Lothus) to break his league with the Saxons, who were now become too formidable to all the inhabitants of Britain. If we may believe the Scotch writers, king Arthur, the successor of Uther Pendragon, owed his principal victories to Gonran, who was murdered, with his chief justiciary Tonset, at Lochaber (Fordun says, Innerlochy) by a Highland chief, whom he had exasperated by his too great severity. Contemporary with Gonran was Gildas the Briton, son to the king of the Meatae, and born at Dumbarton. His father's name is said, by some writers, to have been Caunus, and

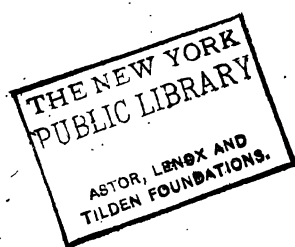
Gonran.

Gildas the
Briton.



GORANUS.







EUGENIUS III.^D

and by others Navus ; and he was succeeded by his son Hoel. The Scotch have, therefore, considered him as their countryman, though, I think, with little propriety, unless they can prove his father and brother to have been Scotchmen, which I apprehend to be impossible. Gonran's death is fixed to the year 535, being the thirty-fifth of his reign. He was buried with his predecessors in the island of Hy, now called Icolmkill, and, according to Fordun, within the church of St. Oran, or Owran.

Eugene the third, son to Congal, succeeded Eugene III, his uncle Gonran. Though he was pressed by his nobles to revenge his uncle's death, he not only neglected their advice, but even took the assassin into his service and favour, which occasioned his people to suspect him of being privy to the murder. It is surprizing, that neither Boece or Buchanan take any notice of Fordun's account of this reign. The last-mentioned historian tells us plainly, that Gonran was murdered by Eugene, or Eothod Hebdir, his nephew, who succeeded him ; and that Gonran's wife fled to Ireland, with her two sons, Rogenan and Aidan, where she remained during the reigns of Eugene and his brother. Eugene, like his predecessors, assisted Arthur and the Britons against the Saxons ; but could never be persuaded to encounter them in a pitched battle. The histories of Scotland, at this period, teem with the exploits of Arthur, and other British kings ;

kings; but they are so confused and interlarded with the fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that we can assign them a very inconsiderable degree of credit; tho' there is sufficient foundation for the friendship we have recorded between the Britons and the Scots. Eugene the third is reported to have died in 568, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and is commended for many excellent civil institutions which he introduced into Scotland. The famous St. Mungo, or Kentigern, so highly celebrated in the ecclesiastical histories of that time, is thought to have been a natural son of Eugene, by a princess, daughter to Lothus, king of the Picts.

Conval.

Eugene the third was succeeded by his brother Conval, who is extolled at the mirror of all princely qualities, chiefly, perhaps, on account of his extravagant liberality to St. Columba, and other prelates, who attended him from Ireland to Scotland. He died in 578, in the tenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother Kinnatil, who possessed a similar character. As this prince did not reign much above a year, some of the old historians, according to Buchanan, have not admitted him into the list of kings, and suppose that Conval was succeeded by Aydan.

Kinnatil.

Aydan.

This prince appears with distinguished lustre in history, his actions being recorded by the Saxons, as well as Scots. The reader may remember



J. Taylor sculp.

CONGALLUS, II.



member that upon the death of Gonran, his wife fled to Ireland with his two sons, of whom this Aydan was the youngest. The history of his accession to the throne would be too ridiculous and trifling, was it not a pregnant instance of the impostures practised by the churchmen of those days in matters of state. St. Columba, whom we have already mentioned, was not only the apostle of the Western Scots, but the first minister of their kings. Upon Aydan's return to Scotland, he put himself under the tuition of the pious Columba, and resided in the Isle of Hy; but as Aydan had an elder brother, Rogenan, a miraculous interposition was necessary to ascertain Aydan's right to the crown. An angel accordingly appeared with a pellucid book in his hand, in which Columba read an order to himself that he should inaugurate Aydan in the throne. The saint offering some objections in favour of Rogenan, the angel cut him with a whip, the mark of which was visible all his life. Columba continuing refractory, the flagellation was repeated for two nights. At last the smart overcame his obstinacy; he went over to Hy, where he ordained Aydan king, by benediction and imposition of hands. Columba could not have made a more fortunate choice. Malgo, by some called Magoclunus, being then king of the Britons, renewed the ancient league between his people and the Scots; in consequence of which, Aydan com-

mitted

Pretended
miracle.

mitted the command of a body of auxiliaries, who were to join Malgo, to his son Griffin, and his nephew, Brendin, king of Man. Being joined by a body of Northern Britons, whom I suspect to have been the Cumbri, or the Meatae, they were attacked on their route by Cutha, son of Ceaulin the Saxon king, whom they defeated; but were, in their turn, conquered by Ceaulin, who was marching against them with another body of troops. This victory obliging the Britons to retire cross the river Severn, the Saxons took possession of great part of their dominions.

Affairs of
the Britons,

Cadwallo, Malgo's successor, encouraged by the dissensions which began to prevail among the Saxon princes, to oppose Ceaulin, was joined by Ethelbert, king of Kent. Aydan being required by Cadwallo to furnish his quota, marched with an army to join him, which he did at Chester. The Saxons, despising an enemy whom they had so lately repulsed, attacked them at Wodensburg, a small town in Wiltshire, where they were completely defeated, and Ceaulin lost not only the battle, but his crown. Of the Scots, we are told, no more than three hundred and three were killed.

and the
Northum-
brians ;

Edelfrid, king of the Northumbrian Saxons, espoused the cause of his Southern countrymen against the Scots and Britons. Eleven years after the defeat of Ceaulin, Aydan, jealous of the growing power of this prince, invaded Northumber-

thumberland; but while his troops were intent upon plunder they were attacked at Degfastan, by the Saxons, and after a bloody battle received such a complete overthrow, as disabled them from giving any disturbance to the Saxons for many years after. Thus far the Scotch history is in general corroborated by Bede, and other Saxon authors. The more modern Scotch historians, however, have introduced a number of other particulars, unnoticed even by Fordun. They tell us (and their account is partly confirmed by the Saxon writers) that a quarrel happened, at a hunting-match, between the Scots and Picts, which was accommodated by Columba; but that Brude, king of the Picts, assisted Edelfrid with his troops at the battle of Degfastan, where it is certain, the Saxon king lost his brother Theobald. Next year Edelfrid, in conjunction with the Picts, invaded Galloway, the inhabitants of which were, from being allies, now become subjects, to the Scotch kings. Aydan marched to their assistance, and repelled the invaders; but, after some other hostilities, a truce of eleven years was concluded. As some of those accounts carry marks of confusion and modern imposture, it is most prudent to follow Fordun, Bede, and the Saxon historians. According to Fordun, Aydan was so deeply affected by his defeat at Degfastan, that he died of grief at Kintire, when he was almost eighty years of age.

and Gallo-
vidians.

Kenneth
Kere.

Eugene IV.

The Scots, Northumbrians, and Britons, seem to have been so greatly weakened at this period, that they gave each other no disturbance during the short reign of Kenneth Kere, son to Conval, and the successor of Aydan, who is said by Fordun to have reigned only three months. On his demise, in 606, Eugene the fourth, or Ethod Buyd, ascended the throne. The elevation of this prince affords another proof of Columba's influence in the affairs of government; for, according to the above-mentioned author, he was chosen king by the saint, though he was Kenneth's fourth son, during the life-time of his elder brothers, who were killed soon after in battle. Before we take our leave of Aydan's family, we think it necessary to observe, that an ingenious critic has combated the chronology of Fordun, because he fixes the beginning of the reign of Fergus, son of Erth, to the year 403; and he endeavours to prove from records written before the year 1291, now extant, that the settlement of Fergus was a hundred years later than the before-mentioned writer has placed it. The reader in the notes will find his reasons*. Up-
on

* "According to the genealogy of our kings received by Fordun and all our other writers, there are but two generations, or persons, betwixt this Fergus and king Aydan, his great-grand-child; to wit, Dongard, who was son to Fergus; and Gonran, who was son to Dongard, and father to king Aydan. Now, according to Fordun's account, Fergus began his reign A. D. 403, and died A. D. 419; and king Aydan, his great-grand-child, died A. D. 605: so there would be only three generations

on the whole, the reign of Aydan, and the

rations to take up near two centuries, viz. one hundred and sixty-eight years from the death of king Fergus, to that of king Aydan; which, in the first place, would be against the common received rule of counting three generations to one hundred years, or of allowing thirty years to each generation: in the second place, it would be absolutely contrary to the experience of all that hath ever happened in Scotland since, where there have always been in the genealogy of our kings, at least six generations for every two centuries. And from the death of king Aydan, A. D. 605, till that of the late king James VII. A. D. 1701, there are thirty-six generations, and only one thousand ninety-six years, or about eleven centuries, which is more than three generations for every century: which shews, that there can be no more than one hundred years allowed for the three generations of Dongard, Gonran, and of Aydan; and by consequence, that according to the genealogy owned by all, as well as the fixed epoch of king Aydan's death, A. D. 605, and conformable to the experience of all succeeding ages, the beginning of the reign of king Fergus II. can be placed no higher than the beginning of the sixth century, or about the year 500 of Christ: but all this will appear by the Genealogical Table subjoined.

" It would seem that Fordun, or those who furnished him with memoirs, had been aware of this difficulty; and therefore, to obviate it, or rather to hinder it from being taken notice of, care is taken to intermix, with the real kings, in the interval betwixt Fergus and Aydan, the names of three supernumerary kings, besides one Kinatell, viz. Eugenius, Constantine, and Ethodius (of all whom there is not the least mention in the more ancient chronicles or catalogues of our kings) and to each of them are given long reigns, to help to spin out the two centuries; for which reason, there are also several years added to the reigns of some of the real kings: but this cobweb device is easily dissipated, and can be of no use to the purpose, as long as the old genealogy (which could not be so easily altered) remains still the same, even in Fordun's account, and in that of all our writers; and king Aydan, being but in the third degree from king Fergus, the intermixing these new kings, with the additional number of years of the reigns (which serves only for a blind, that is easily seen through) will in no manner mend the matter; and still the same difficulty remains of making three generations fill up two centuries, which in all succeeding ages have required at least double that number of generations, as it were easy to prove by induction, or example of every two ages or centuries since king Aydan's, till the present times.

time of his death, as we have fixed it, forms an unquestionable period in the Scottish history.

"To render this yet more evident, there needs only to lay aside the seventy-nine years of reign, which Fordun, or those that helped him with memoirs, thought fit to assign to the three supernumerary kings (Eugenius, Constantin, and Ethodius) and cut off the twenty-four years which they have added to lengthen the reigns of Fergus and Gonran beyond what the ancient catalogues give them. These two numbers of years (seventy-nine and twenty-four) put together, make up above one hundred years: now retrenching them, and reckoning back from king Aydan's death, A. D. 605 (which is a fixed epoch on which all parties, Fordun as well as the others, agree) there will not remain one full century from the death of king Aydan, A. D. 605, till the beginning of Fergus's reign, which therefore must necessarily be placed after the year 500, or the beginning of the sixth century, and about one hundred years after the year 403, to which Fordun had fixed it.

"It is no less evident, by all the ancient abstracts of our chronicles, written before the year 1291, that king Fergus's reign can be placed no higher than about the year 500; for according to the three ancient catalogues of our kings, to wit, that of the *Chronica Regum Scotorum*; that of the Register of St. Andrew's; that of the Chronicle in Latin verse, and those of Winton and Gray, counting all the years of the king's reigns, from the death of king Aydan, A. D. 605, up to the beginning of king Fergus's reign, it will be found, according to those chronicles or catalogues, that the first king Fergus amounts no higher than to the year 503: for these catalogues or chronicles (allowing a few faults in the numbers, ordinary to copyists) bear unanimously that, 1^o Fergus, son of Erc, reigned three years; 2^o Dongard, son of Fergus, five years; 3^o Congal, son of Dongard, twenty-four years; 4^o Gonran, son of Dongard, twenty-two years; 5^o Conal, son of Congal, fourteen years; 6^o Aydan, son of Gonran, thirty-four years, and died A. D. 605. Now, counting up the years of the reigns of these six kings, they amount to one hundred and two years, which being deduced from six hundred and five, the fixed epoch of the death of king Aydan, there remain just five hundred and three, as another fixed epoch of the beginning of the reign of king Fergus, son of Erc; and by consequence of the monarchy of the Scots in Britain: and this just answers the calculation of the Irish chronicles (Usser. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.) whose conformity in this, to the most ancient monuments that we have, mutually confirms one another."

James's Crit. Essay, vol. II. p. 690.

GENEALOGICAL and CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES of the Kings of SCOTS, from FERGUS, Son of ERC, to AYDAN, Son of GAVRAN.

OF SCOTLAND.

119

According to more ancient MS. Chronicles, or Catalogues.

Began to reign. A. D.	Order of Succession.	Reigned Yrs.	Died A. D.	Series of Generations.
503	1 Fergus, son of Erc,	3	506	Fergus
506	2 Dongard, son of Fergus,	5	511	Dongard
511	3 Congal, son of Dongard,	24	535	
535	4 Gabhran, son of Dongard,	24	557	Gabhran
557	5 Conal, son of Congal,	14	571	
571	6 Aydan, son of Gabhran,	34	605	Aydan

According to John Fordun, and his followers.

Began to reign. A. D.	Order of Succession.	Reigned Yrs.	Died A. D.	Series of Generations.
403	1 Fergus, son of Erc,	16	419	Fergus
419	2 Eugenius, son of Fergus,	34	452	
452	3 Dongard, son of Fergus,	5	457	Dongard
457	4 Constantin, son of Fergus,	22	479	
479	5 Congal, son of Dongard,	22	501	
501	6 Gonran, son of Dongard,	34	535	Gonran
535	7 Ethod, son of Congal,	23	558	
558	8 Conal, son of Congal,	10	567	
567	9 Kynatel, son of Congal,	13	580	
580	10 Aydan, son of Gonran,	35	605	Aydan

months.

ry. We cannot dismiss this doubtful part of the Scottish annals without observing, what has been omitted by the antiquaries of that nation, that Nennius, the oldest of the British historians, who has been confounded with Gildas himself, has informed us, that he compiled his history from the Roman annals, the Chronicles of the Holy Fathers, the writings of the Scots and English, and from the tradition of the antient Britons, which had been reduced to writing by many learned men and librarians, and were then become very scarce, either thro' frequent deaths, or the devastations of war*.

Remark.

This confirms my suspicion, that the Scots (for it will be proved hereafter that Nennius does not here mean the Irish) had certain records from whence they transcribed their high antiquities, the veracity of which, however, I pretend not to ascertain. If we may credit Buchanan, who copies from the Black Book of Paisley, one of the best Scotch records, Eugene the fourth was a very warlike prince; and Fordun says, that he harraffed the Saxons and Picts with perpetual incursions; that he was severe to all who resisted him; but meek, merciful, and forgiv-

* Ego autem coacerfavi omne quod inveni, tam de annalibus Romanorum quam de chronicis sanctorum patrium, & descriptis Scotorum Anglorumque, & ex traditione veterum nostrorum; quod multi doctores atque librarii scribere tentaverint; nescio quo pacto difficiliter reliquerint, an propter mortalitates frequentissimas vel clades creberrimas bellorum. --- Nennii Hist. Britan. Ed. Gale, p. 94.

ing to those he subdued. Boece, on the contrary, tells us that he lived in peace, by cherishing the divisions among his enemies. It is, however, agreed by all the oldest historians that after Edelfrid was defeated and killed by Redwald, his two sons, Oswald and Oswy, fled to Scotland; and Fordun asserts, that no fewer than seven of Edelfrid's sons, with a daughter, as well as many of the nobility, took refuge at the Scotch court, where they were affectionately received by Eugene. This prince, when on his death-bed, ordered, that after his decease his right hand should be separated from his body, and buried with his sword and armorial bearings in the southern parts of his dominions, as a kind of charm against the invasions of their enemies. He died after a reign of sixteen years, in the year 622, leaving his crown and dominions to his son,

Ferchard the first, who reigned ten years, and had the misfortune to entertain some singular notions in matters of religion (having been educated in a monastery under Conan bishop of the Isle of Man) for which his memory has suffered among the clergy. We are even told that his subjects committed him to prison for favouring the Pelagian heresy; and that after having consulted together on the most proper methods to supply his place, they at last resolved to invite Fiacre, his brother, who led a reclusive life in France, to fill the throne. Messen-
gers

gers were accordingly dispatched to Fiacre's hermitage, where they found him a leper, as well as totally unqualified for the affairs of government. That such a person as Fiacre, a brother, or very near relation to the king of Scotland, lived at that time, and that he likewise received such an invitation, appears from unquestionable authority; but the writers of his life have absurdly ascribed his leprosy to the effect of his fervent prayers to God, that it might protect him from being compelled to quit his sanctimonious retirement. Perhaps the real cause of Ferchard's confinement may be imputed to the partiality this unhappy monarch discovered in favour of Pelagius (who probably was of British extraction, and a Cumbrian) and the British clergy, who composed the major part of his followers, which might disgust his subjects, from an apprehension that those foreign favourites would seduce the king into some unconstitutional measures. Whatever truth there may be in this conjecture, Ferchard is said to have put an end to his own life in the fourteenth year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 632.

Argyleshire,
the seat of
the Scots.

The seat of the Scotch government seems, at this time, to have been still confined to Argyleshire, and the western parts, where their leaders met and elected Donald the third, son of their late king Eugene, to fill the throne. This prince was likewise a favourite of St. Colum-

lumba, who (according to Fordun) had foretold his elevation to royalty, when he was but a boy, with the additional, and almost wonderful, circumstance, that he would die a natural death. Edwin, then king of Northumberland, was universally acknowledged to be the most powerful prince in the island. His greatness, however, giving offence to Cadwallo, or Ceadwallo, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians, they joined their arms against him; and a bloody battle being fought between them at Hatfield, in Yorkshire, in which Edwin and his son were killed, Cadwallo gave a loose to all his innate hatred of the Saxons, and, though a Christian, behaved far more barbarously than Penda, who was still a heathen. Anfred, son of Edelfrid, whom we have already mentioned, with other Saxon noblemen of the old royal blood, continued to be protected by the kings of the Scots; but they no sooner received intelligence of Edwin's overthrow, than they petitioned Donald to assist them in recovering their rights. Donald accordingly complied with their request; though with an express restriction, that the troops he lent them should not be employed against Cadwallo, or the Britons, who were Christians, and the ancient allies of his crown. Northumberland was at this time divided into two provinces, or kingdoms; one called Deira, and the other Bernicia; the latter fell to Anfred; and Ofric, who

History of
Northum-
berland.

was related to Edwin, succeeded to the former. Both princes, however, renounced Christianity, in which they had been carefully educated. That this great revolution was effected by the assistance of Donald, seems indisputable; though Bede is silent as to the particulars. Cadwallo was then at York, where he was besieged by Ofric, who was afterwards defeated and killed in a sally made by the Britons. Anfred, upon this, surrendered himself to Cadwallo, who ungenerously put him to death. Such was the fate of those apostate princes! Anfred's brother Oswald was still alive, and continued to profess the Christian religion, having been baptized in Scotland. This prince claimed his brother's crown, and collecting a handful of men, all Christians, and many of them, probably, Scots, he attacked Cadwallo, who had now rendered himself detestable by his cruelties, at Cockley, or, according to Fordun, at Thirlwall, near the Roman prætenture, where Cadwallo, though at the head of a numerous, well-disciplined army, was defeated, and killed; upon which Oswald succeeded peaceably to the united kingdoms of Northumberland. The same historian informs us, from Bede, that Oswald sent to Scotland for priests; and that St. Aidan, who was the first bishop of Lindisfarn, arrived soon after at the Northumbrian court. Unfortunately this pious prelate did not understand the Saxon tongue; but this loss was supplied by Oswald himself, whose

long

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MALDUINUS.

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DONALD IV.,

long residence in Scotland had rendered him a perfect master of the language of that country. Aydan, however, was afterwards bishop of all Northumberland. As to Donald, we are told, that he was educated in the Isle of Man, which I perceive was, at that time, in the possession of Edwin, king of Northumberland; and that Conan, bishop of that island, transported him from thence to Scotland. Being afterwards drowned in Loch Tay, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and of our Lord 646, he was succeeded by his nephew, Ferchard the second, son to Ferchard the first. This prince is stigmatized by Boece and Buchanan, as a monster of impurity and tyranny; tho' Fordun assures us, that he reigned fourteen years in perfect tranquillity. He is said to have been wounded by a wolf; to have been excommunicated by his subject, St. Colman; and to have died a miserable death.

Ferchard II

Malduin, the son of Donald, next succeeded to the throne of Scotland, in 664, and lived on very bad terms with his Saxon neighbours, though there never was any formal declaration of war between the two nations. The Scots and Picts were the only people, we are told, that escaped a pestilence, which, at this time, desolated all the rest of Europe. Malduin proved a prince of great piety and spirit, and quelled a civil war which broke out, in his reign, between the inhabitants of Argyle and

Malduin.

Lenox; the former being supported by the islanders, and the latter by the Gallovidians. We meet with few particulars concerning this prince's reign, except what is related by Boece and Buchanan, who assert, that when Malduin was upon the eve of a war with the Saxons, he was strangled by his wife, in a fit of jealousy; and being afterwards apprehended, with her accomplices, she was burnt alive, in the year 684.

Eugene V.

The history of Eugene the fifth (called, in old chronicles, Eugene, or Eochol with the crooked nose) who was the nephew, as well as successor of Malduin, is more explicit than that of his predecessor. Upon his accession to the throne, he concluded a truce for twelve months with Egfrid, king of Bernicia, who had dispossessed his brother Alfrid of the kingdom of Deira, and had quarrelled with the pope and his bishop Wilfred. Egfrid at the same time commenced hostilities against the Picts, who had invaded Northumberland: he seems, however, to have quickly made peace both with them and the Scots, to facilitate his projected conquest of Ireland; whither he accordingly transported an army. But the Irish, though a harmless, inoffensive people, and willing to have submitted to any reasonable terms, being incensed by his cruelty and ambition, at last took arms and drove the Northumbrians out of their kingdom. It is very probable that the Scots sent
over

assists the
Irish,

over assistance to the Irish, whom they considered as their allies, if not as their countrymen.

Be this as it may, it is certain that Egfrid, upon his return to Northumberland, raised an army, with which, contrary to the opinion of all his council, he invaded Galloway; and, being joined by the Picts, laid siege to the castle of Donkene. Eugene, foreseeing what would happen, took the field at the head of a strong army, and entering into a secret correspondence with the Picts, prevailed with them to withdraw their troops from those of the ambitious Northumbrian. Here some difficulty occurs, since it is doubtful whether Galloway, at that time, belonged to the Scots or the Picts: if it was in the possession of the latter, the siege of the castle of Donkene must have been after the Picts had deserted the Northumbrians. It is certain, however, that Egfrid, finding himself unable to oppose the united army, retired to his own dominions, after being defeated (if we may credit Buchanan and Boece) in a bloody battle with the Scots, who lost six thousand of their own men, but killed twenty thousand of their enemies. Tho' I am inclined to doubt whether such a battle was ever fought, yet there can be no question that in the year 685, Egfrid invaded the country of the Picts, who, by a feigned retreat, drew him towards the mountains, where his army was completely defeated, and himself killed. I must not, however,

Uncertainty of the Scotch history.

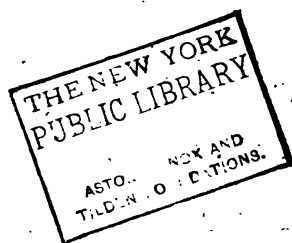
ever, conceal, that some manuscripts of Bede mention this last expedition to have been made against the Scots, and some against the Picts. The latter appear to have been the greatest gainers by Egfrid's defeat; for they recovered all the territories taken from them by the kings of Northumberland. The Scots and the Britons likewise enjoyed their share of the spoils of the kingdom of Northumberland, which, after this defeat, never recovered its importance. Some modern writers think, that the country of Ireland mentioned to have been invaded by Egfrid, lay in Scotland, upon the banks of the Lerne, or Ern; but we cannot adopt this opinion, without unhinging the credibility of history itself. Eugene the fifth is said to have died in the fourth year of his reign, and to have been succeeded by Eugene the sixth (called by Fordun Eugene the fifth) the son of Ferchard. He was, for those times, a learned prince, being educated under Adaman, abbot of Icolm-kill. He cultivated peace with the Northumbrians; but had frequent quarrels and truces with the Picts. Northumberland was then governed by Alfrid, said, by Fordun, to have been a bastard-brother of the late king Egfrid. Here we have a plain distinction, not attended to by later historians, between Scotland and Ireland; for the above-mentioned writer says expressly, that this Alfrid was educated in Scotland and Ireland, and was intimate with Eugene,

Eugene VI.

Historical
remark.

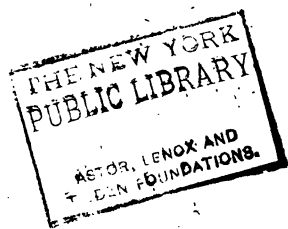


FERQUHARD II.





EUGENIUS, VI.



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AMBERKELETHUS.

Eugene, by which means they lived in friendship together. The Picts, at that time, were very powerful, and the union between the two kings was political; for the Saxon Chronicle informs us, that Bertus, or Berth, who had been general to Egfrid, in his descent upon Ireland, invaded the country of the Picts to revenge his master's death; but that he was defeated and killed by them, as a just judgment upon him, according to Matthew of Westminster, for the cruelty he had exercised upon the harmless Irish. For these particulars we are indebted to the English records, which insinuate, that Alfrid found the Scots and the Picts so well settled in the dominions they recovered from his predecessor, that he could never retake them. Eugene dying in the tenth year of his reign, the crown devolved on Amberkeleth, who was nephew to Eugene the fifth. Fordun is silent as to the vices of laziness and luxury, with which this prince is accused by Boece and Buchanan. He tells us, however, that during the year of his accession, which was in 697, he inconsiderately entered into a war with the Picts; and that he was killed with an arrow, in a thick wood, while he was invading their dominions.

Amberkeleth.

Amberkeleth was succeeded by his brother, Eugene the seventh, who married Spondana, daughter of Garnard, then king of the Picts, with whom he also concluded a peace. Spondana

Eugene VII.

is

is said to have been murdered by two assassins, brothers, instead of her husband, who had put their father to death. The Picts suspecting Eugene to have been the murderer, prepared to revenge her death. A part of the Scotch nobility likewise inclining to the same opinion, the king was called upon to justify his conduct before the states of his kingdom; but in the mean time, the real murderers were apprehended, convicted, and died confessing their crime. As Fordun mentions none of these facts, they are, perhaps, forged by Boece, to prove the jurisdiction which the states of the kingdom had over their kings. Eugene would have resented this treatment, had he not been dissuaded by the admonitions of the good bishop Adaman. After this, he convoked an assembly of the most learned men in his dominions, and ordered them to compose the history of his predecessors; which, after it was completed, was lodged in the monastery of Icolm-kill. The truth is, the kings in the northern parts of Britain were, at this time, perhaps, the most learned princes in the world; and their common studies seem to have kept them in profound tranquillity. Ceolwolf was then king of Northumberland; and Bede, who dedicated his history to that prince, acknowledges that the Scots and Picts lived with him in inviolable friendship. We have not, however, been able to learn, whether that history was seen by

Adaman,
bishop.

* *

by later historians, though it is almost indisputable, that long before this period the Scots had registers of their public transactions. After being a generous benefactor to the priests, and having repaired and rebuilt several churches, Eugene died, in 715, being the seventeenth year of his reign. He is represented by Fordun, as a modest, affable prince, devoted to peace, and, though addicted to hunting, adorning his country with excellent laws.

Murdac, the son of Amberkeleth, next mounted the throne of Scotland, and imitated his predecessor in cultivating the arts of peace; for the venerable Bede speaks in raptures of the harmony which then prevailed among the Britons, the Northumbrians, the Scots, and the Picts. He likewise informs us, that each of those nations spoke a different language; a mistake he probably fell into, from being ignorant that the Britons, Scots and Picts, originally used the same dialect; though it is not improbable, that in his time, the provincial pronunciation might have disguised it so, as to seem three different languages. Murdac was a great benefactor to the church; and, according to some authors, founded or repaired the monastery of Candida Casa, or Whitehorn, in Galloway; tho' others think that province to have been then in the possession of the English. It is not, in fact, easy to ascertain the boundaries of the Saxons, Scots, and Picts, nor the precise time when

their territorial property changed its masters. Sometimes a country, or an estate, was held in homage, which was paid by the person, who enjoyed the real possession of it, to its superior lord; but the frequent inroads, devastations, and plunderings, which those parts of the island were at this time subject to, deprives us of all the means of ascertaining, even for a few days or weeks, the property of the soil. In a case like this, however, it is very possible that Murdac might rebuild or repair a church for which he had a veneration, tho' it stood upon other people's ground. This prince, after a peaceable reign, dying in 734, was succeeded by Ethfin, son of Eugene the seventh, a pacific prince likewise, as well as a strict justiciary. In the decline of life, being oppressed with years and infirmities, he resigned the management of affairs to Donald, thane of Argyle; Cullen, thane of Athol; Murdac, thane of Galloway; and Conrith, thane of Murray. Under this delegated government, every thing fell into confusion, each regent favouring his own dependents, and endeavouring to extend his own power. Donald, lord of the Isles, taking advantage of the public distractions, laid waste and plundered all Galloway, in which he was countenanced by Murdac. This melancholy state of public affairs affected Ethfin so sensibly, that he died of grief, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the year of

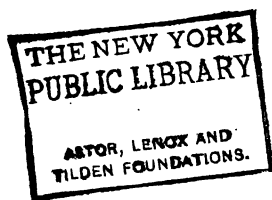
our

Ethfin.

Donald of
the Isles.



ETFINUS.



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EUGENIUS.VII.

our Lord 762. Egbert was then king of the Northumbrians, and made war upon the Picts with such success, that he penetrated as far as Kyle. After this, the two nations concluded a peace; and Onnuft, son of Hungus, king of the Picts, in 756, joining his forces with those of Egbert, these princes besieged and took Dumbarton, the capital of Areclute, as it is called: this capture seems to have completed the destruction of the Cumbrian kingdom. The chronology of the ancient fragments of Pictish history coincides very remarkably with that of the Saxon, at this period.

Eugene the eighth, Murdac's son, who succeeded Ethfin, was a brave, resolute prince, and continued the peace concluded by his predecessors with the Picts, Britons, and Saxons, that he might the more effectually remedy the public distractions of his own kingdom. He defeated, took prisoner, and put to death, the lord of the Isles, together with his confederate the thane of Galloway; and punished the other regents, who had abused their power. Perhaps he was too virtuous for the times he lived in; for we learn, that having restored peace and tranquility to his kingdom, he grew indolent, avaricious, and tyrannical, till at last he was put to death by his nobles, for passing an unjust sentence upon a rich man, in 763, and was buried with his predecessors at Icolm-kill.

Eugene.
VIII.

Fergus III.

Fergus the third (by some called the second) the son of Ethfin, next ascended the Scottish throne. Fordun and later authors inform us; that his wife poisoned him in a fit of jealousy; that seeing several innocent persons suffering, and put to the torture, for her crime, she was struck with remorse, tho' none suspected her; and openly confessing her guilt, she plunged a dagger into her own breast in a public assembly of the people. Fordun, however, paints this fact in a very different light from Boece and Buchanan: he takes no notice of the infamous sensuality of the king, described by them; but represents the queen bewailing him as a loving husband, and dying with remorse, acknowledging herself worthy of the most public and excruciating death. Fergus was murdered in the third year of his reign, which answers to that of our Lord 766, and was succeeded by Solvaith, or Selvac, son of Eugene the eighth. This prince is extolled by Buchanan, after Boece, for the royal qualities he discovered during the first year of his reign. Fordun observes very justly, from the Saxon and English Chronicles, that the affairs of the Northumbrians were, at this time, in so miserable a situation, that had the Scots, even without the assistance of the Picts, exerted themselves, they might have retaken all the territory they had lost in the north of England; "but, says he, nothing really memorable was performed, excepting a few petty inroads,"

Solvaith.

roads." About the third year of his reign, Solvaith was attacked by a violent gout, or rheumatism; and his dominions were invaded by Donald Bane, or the White, who stiled himself king of the Ebudæ. Solvaith, when disabled from taking the field in person, gave the command of his army to Cullan and Duchal, the thanes of Argyle and Athol, who defeated the invader, and drove him into a pass, where he and his followers were all put to death. Gyllequham, who was confederated with Donald, invaded Galloway at the same time, and underwent the same fate. After reigning twenty-one years, Solvaith died, in 787, worn out with pain and infirmity.

Charles the Great, commonly called Charlemagne, was then in the zenith of his reputation for the wonderful exploits he was performing against the infidels. Though it is foreign to this history to descend to particulars, yet he more than once intended to have passed over to Britain, had he not been prevented by his wars upon the continent. As the Scots, at this period, were renowned for their learning and orthodoxy, and still more for the zeal they manifested, as we shall see hereafter, in preaching the gospel to the Pagans; we can entertain no doubt of their being highly esteemed by Charles, who certainly formed close connections with Northumberland; and was jealous that Offa, king of Mercia, the most powerful

Connections of
Charles the
Great with
Britain.

erful prince then in Britain, secretly sent succours to his Saxon enemies. It likewise appears indisputably, that Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, managed a correspondence between Charles and the other Saxon princes, who were also jealous of Offa; but the latter made such concessions to the see of Rome, as entirely reconciled the French monarch to his conduct and person. Charles, however, had other reasons for cultivating a friendship with the Scots. The Danish Pagans, who were his enemies, had lately made several descents upon the coasts of Northumberland, great part of which had been recovered by the Scots, though we are ignorant of the particulars; and it was by no means the French king's interest that they should form settlements there. Possibly he might be not a little influenced by Alcuin, his favourite and preceptor, and who undoubtedly was a Briton, if not a Scotchman. It is very certain, that a Scotch ambassador was at his court, after his glorious return from Italy; and it is equally true, that he was fond of concluding alliances with Christian princes, however insignificant they were in other respects. Upon the whole, tho' I am far from professing myself an advocate for the authenticity of the league between Charles and the Scots; yet it is carrying historical scepticism to an extreme to doubt that he lived in friendship with them, and that he profited by their assistance; nay, that they became his
his



ACHAIUS.

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his allies, upon certain terms stipulated on both sides.

The successor to Solvaith was the famous Achaius, son of Ethfin. Upon his accession to the throne, the Irish (though I rather suspect the Danes, who were, at this time, settling plantations in Ireland) made a descent upon Kintire, from whence they were expelled by the valour of the inhabitants. Achaius, whose disposition, like those of his late predecessors, was pacific, was then employed in the civil regulations of his kingdom, and in sending an embassy to accommodate matters with the Irish; but the latter were so exasperated, that they rejected all the terms proposed, and invaded some of the islands of Scotland, which they ravaged. In their return home, their ships were attacked by a storm, and few of them reached land. The Ursperg Chronicle mentions an army which Charles the Great sent, about this time, to England, under Andolph, who compelled the English Saxons to give him hostages for their good behaviour, whom Andolph presented to Charles, at Worms, upon his return. Was this fact uncontrovertible, nothing is more natural than to suppose, that the famous league between Achaius and Charles was first projected by Andolph, and afterwards completed by the Scottish king. We learn from foreign authorities, that the league was con-

concluded in the year 790^{*}; and that both the king and the nobles were so struck with the grandeur of Charles, that they gave him the title of 'Lord' in their letters, subscribing themselves 'your humble servants;' a compliment often paid to great princes long after this period, though without conferring any claim of superiority over those who bestowed it. The Scotch writers, on the contrary, pretend, that Charles sent ambassadors to Scotland, requesting Achaius to send him some learned men to propagate languages and sciences in his kingdom, and offering him his friendship. Achaius convened a council of his nobility upon the occasion, when some of them, particularly Colman, thane of Mar, were of opinion that the friendship of the Saxons would be of greater utility to the Scots than an alliance with Charles. These were answered by Alban, thane of the Isles, whose opinion was espoused by the majority; and the league with Charles was accordingly concluded, the conditions of which the reader will find in the notes †. Notwithstanding

His league
with
Charles.

^{*} Eginhard. in Vit. Carol. Mag.

† 1. That whatever injury was done by the Saxons to either nations, should be looked upon as done to them both. 2. When the French are invaded by the Saxons, the Scots shall send an army to assist them; which army is to be maintained by the French king. 3. That, when the Scots are invaded by the Saxons, the French king will send an army to their assistance, upon his own expences. 4. That, if any of the people of other nations, during the time of war, shall harbour, support, or protect any Saxon, they shall be deemed guilty of lèse majesté by them

standing these appearances of authenticity, however, I strongly suspect the whole detail of this transaction to be a French forgery; especially as the league itself carries evident marks of more modern times, and is calculated to cherish that connection between France and Scotland, which afterwards proved so very beneficial to the former. If we may believe Fordun, (whose credit ought to have considerable weight) Gilmer, or, as other historians call him, William, brother to Achaius, was, previous to this alliance, one of the chief officers under Charles; but modern writers suppose, that after the conclusion of the league he was sent over with four thousand troops to the assistance of Charles: others say, with more appearance of truth, that the first auxiliaries were furnished by the French monarch.

William, after performing many glorious actions against the infidels, embraced a religious life, and founded a number of monasteries for his countrymen in Germany and other places. This fact seems to be well ascertained; and in Paulus Æmilius's history of the French achievements, we meet with the following very remarkable expressions: "The Saxons being overcome, that their name, by degrees, might

Scottish
colleges in
Germany.

them both. 5. That neither peace should be concluded with, nor war declared against, the Saxons, without the consent of both nations. 6. That an authentic copy of this league should be kept in both kingdoms, subscribed by both kings, and both their seals appended to it.---See Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, p. 48.

be extinguished, Charles bestowed the honours of magistracy upon strangers, but principally upon the Scots, whom he made use of for the great fidelity he found in them." After this period, the history of this reign becomes somewhat obscure, through the great confusion of names. We are told that Achaius married Fergusiana, daughter to Hungus king of the Picts, and that he lent his father-in-law ten thousand Scots to repel the invasions of Athelstan. That no such king of England as Athelstan lived at this time, is certain; neither is he mentioned by Fordun. If there is any truth in the above facts, they must belong to another Athelstan, or some Saxon or Danish general; but, indeed, the history of this transaction is attended with many difficulties. We are likewise informed, that after Hungus had received the ten thousand auxiliaries, he entered Northumberland, from whence he carried off a great booty; but being pursued by Athelstan, with a superior army, he was overtaken near Haddington, and encompassed in such a manner, that he expected nothing less than the destruction of himself and his troops: in the night-time, however, he received in a dream an assurance, from St. Andrew, of victory. Some exhalations which appeared in the air next day in the form of a cross struck the Scots and Picts, who being amazingly inspired when Hungus acquainted them with his dream, defeated their enemies, and killed Athelstan

War with
Athelstan,

Athelstan at a place called to this day Athelstan's Ford. Though the Saxon Chronicle takes no notice of this incident, it may be founded in history; and it is not impossible that Hungus might defeat some free-booter of that name. For my own part, I confess I can by no means consider the whole of this story as a fiction, because it has been supported by uninterrupted tradition, which fixes the time when the Scots and Picts chose that apostle for their tutelar saint; and nothing was more common in those times than such wonderful revelations, one of which Hungus invented on this emergency. We have nothing farther to add to this account of the reign of Achaius, except that he died in peace in the year of our Lord 819, after having wore the Scottish diadem thirty-two years, and was succeeded by his nephew Conval, though he had a son, who had commanded his armies with reputation. Of Conval we know no more than that he reigned in peace five years, and then, according to Fordun, Dongal, the son of Solvaith, ascended the throne.

The good harmony between the Scots and Picts began now to be interrupted by events which should naturally have cemented it. There is great reason for believing, that under Achaius the Pictish territories were much more extensive than those of the Scots, who were still confined to the western parts. On the other hand, the Scots seem to have possessed a more adventurous

and warlike disposition, and were fond of serving in foreign armies; a circumstance which accounts for the superiority they enjoyed in the field over the Picts. The possessions of the Scots at this time, which were denominated the kingdom of Dalrietae, or Dalriedae, included all the western islands, together with the counties of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdale, Kyle, Kintyre, Lochabyr, and a part of Braid-albain. The Pictish kingdom comprehended all the rest of the north of Scotland, from the Friths to the Orkneys, exclusive, as we have seen, of a great part of Northumberland. These observations are necessary to understand the succeeding part of this history.

The collateral, the legal succession.

Some of the subjects of Dongal being disgusted with his government, applied to Alpin to assert his hereditary right to the throne; but it plainly appears, that the collateral was the legal succession at this time to the crown of Scotland. Alpin, instead of accepting this invitation, disclosed it to Dongal, who treated him with the greatest affection and tenderness, and in consideration of the merits of his father Achaius, was willing, if the states of his kingdom would consent, to resign the crown in his favour. Alpin, however, contented himself with clearing up his own innocence. The conspirators, on the other hand, accused him of endeavouring to debauch them from their duty; but Dongal assembling an army, apprehended and punished

ed.

ed as many of them as he could find. About this time Hungus died. His eldest son Dorstolog was murdered by his second son Egan, who in his turn was assassinated by his brother's widow. The male line of the Pictish monarchy thus becoming extinct, the succession to it was claimed by the Scots. Fordun is by no means positive as to the ground of this claim, which he conjectures to have been founded upon an ancient convention between the Scots and the Picts, when the latter came from the continent, and for want of women were obliged to marry Scotch wives, after promising to prefer the female line to the male, when any dispute happened about the succession. This conjecture, which is founded upon the words of Bede, confutes itself; and the honest historian has recourse to the just judgments of God upon the Picts to explain the extinction of their monarchy. Later historians, to solve this difficulty, ascribe that great revolution to the establishment of hereditary right to the Pictish throne in the person of Alpin, who was son to the daughter of Hungus. If this fact could be clearly proved, there would be no difficulty in vindicating the claim of the Scotch prince. An excellent critic in history, who, in other cases, gives no quarter to modern authorities, when they clash with his system, is here willing to admit that Boece and Buchanan might have had some authorities, which are now lost, for asserting this hereditary

Ms. Innes.

reditary right in Alpin; but Fordun tells us, that Dongal claimed the kingdom of the Picts in his own right, by virtue of the ancient convention we have mentioned.

Feret, a Pict.

That such a claim was preferred appears from all histories, as well as that it was rejected by the Picts, who resolving to maintain the independency of their crown, chose for their king Feret, or Wred, one of their greatest noblemen. Dongal sent an ambassador to remonstrate against this election, and, according to Boece, to represent Alpin's right; but the Picts refused him an audience when they understood the purpose of his message. Upon the ambassador's return Dongal raised an army: before he had recourse however to force, he sent a fresh embassy to accommodate matters; but the ambassadors were met on the road by a herald at arms, who in the name of king Feret commanded them to proceed no farther, and to retire from his dominions. Every thing was now ready for the campaign, when, according to Boece, Dongal was drowned in crossing the Spey, though Fordun leaves it doubtful whether he was not killed in war.

Alpin.

Alpin mounted the throne of Scotland in 831. Being at the head of an army, he immediately marched against Feret, who was encamped near Forfar. A most bloody battle ensued; and though the Picts lost their king, the Scots had no reason to the boast of the victory.

Alpin

Alpin next morning, upon reviewing his army, perceived he had lost one-third of it; however, he plundered the camp of the Picts, who had retired from the field of battle, so that he returned to his own dominions with the air of a conqueror. The Picts chose Brudus, Feret's son, to succeed him, but put him to death in the first year of his reign, on account of his stupidity and indolence. Such was the veneration they entertained for the father, that they next chose Keneth, his brother, who proved a coward, and as such was killed by a countryman, who did not know him, as he was flying from the enemy. Keneth was succeeded by another Brudus, a brave and spirited prince. Resolving to risk his all in support of his independency, he raised a great army. Before he entered upon hostilities he offered to make a peace with the Scots; but Alpin rejected all terms, except a total surrender of his crown. The Pictish monarch upon this sent a message to Edwin, king of Northumberland, with a large sum of money, to engage him as his auxiliary against the Scots. Edwin, whose real name probably was Eandred, took the money, and promised the assistance; but afterwards pretended that he was engaged in civil wars of his own, and that the king of France had interposed his authority in favour of the Scots.

This disappointment did not discourage Brudus, who marched with his army from Dunkeld
into

into Angus, where that of the Scots lay near Dundee. We are told of a stratagem used upon this occasion by Brudus, who ordered all the useless attendants, and even the women, to mount on horseback, and shew themselves to the enemy as soon as the battle should begin. This stratagem, it is said, had the desired effect; for in the heat of the engagement, while both sides were fighting with the most determined fury, the sight of this supposed reinforcement threw the Scots into a panic, from which all Alpin's efforts could not recover them. They immediately fled, and lost more men in the pursuit than in the battle. Alpin and the chief of his nobility were taken prisoners; the latter were put to death on the field of battle, but the king was ignominiously bound, and all ransom being refused for his life, he was beheaded at a place which from his name is, at present, called Pitalpy, but in former times Bas-alpine, which in the Gaelic or Celtic languages signifies, "The death of Alpin." His head was afterwards exposed from a wall upon a pole.

Alpin be-
headed.

Kenneth.

Alpin, said by Fordun to have been a proud as well as rash prince, left a son, Kenneth, who was the first sole king of that part of the island properly called Scotland; and from him we have a clear deduction of that royal family. As he appears to have been of age at the time of his father's murder, and was a brave and accomplished prince, the Scots did not hesitate to re-



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receive him as his father's successor in the throne. The conduct of the Picts, at this time, shewed them deserving of the worthless character given them by Fordun. Not contented with the barbarous murder of Alpin, they made a law, and confirmed it with an oath, that it should be death for any man to propose a peace with the Scots, whom they doomed to total extermination. This fact appears the more credible, when we consider the base manner in which Alpin and his nobles were murdered. Some of the wisest of the nobility were expelled the assembly for opposing this law. The Picts being thus elated, their nobles disdained all subordination; factions began to be formed among them; and while they were marching against the Scots, they fought a bloody battle among themselves. Their king endeavoured to appease them; but finding it impracticable, he disbanded his army, and soon after dying of grief, was succeeded by his brother, Drusken, who also failed in his endeavours to compose the civil dissensions of his country, by which the Scots gained some respite; and a few of them who spoke the Pictish language, had the address to carry off Alpin's head from the capital of the Picts, supposed to have been Abernethy.

Tho' Kenneth was very intent upon revenging his father's death, he found his nobles entirely averse to the renewal of the war with the Picts. According to Fordun, however, who is fol-

The Picts
subdued,

lowed by Boece and others, he conquered their obstinacy by inviting them to an entertainment, and introducing into the hall where they slept, in the middle of the night, a person cloathed in fish-skins, or robes which made so luminous an appearance, that they took him for an angel, especially when he thundered into their ears thro' a long tube prepared for that purpose, a dreadful peal of denunciations, if they did not immediately declare war against the Picts, the murderers of their late king. Fordun has related the story in this manner, but Boece has introduced several of those luminous messengers, who all of a sudden disappeared. The story, upon the whole, when we consider the age, is more ridiculous than incredible. Next morning, all mouths were filled with the angelic apparition, and Kenneth swore he had seen it likewise. A resolution was immediately taken to raise an army against the Picts. The juncture was favourable for Kenneth on account of the popular fury which raged against the Picts for Alpin's murder, and some descents made by the Danes upon their territories. The Picts, however, were not deficient in making the necessary preparations to defend themselves. They had, by this time, obtained some English auxiliaries, and Kenneth having, if we may credit Fordun, passed the vast ridge of mountains called Drumalban, gave "The Death of Alpin," to his soldiers as their military word. The first battle

battle is said to have been fought near Stirling, where the Picts were entirely defeated, being deserted by their English auxiliaries ; though this last circumstance is contradicted by the above-mentioned historian. As to Drusken, he escaped by the goodness of his horse. In a few days after the battle, he applied to Kenneth for peace, who, like his father Alpin, demanded a surrender of all the Pictish dominions. We see no reason for departing from the narrative of Boece, as to the remainder of Kenneth's campaigns against the Picts. He soon conquered Merns, Angus, and Fife; but while he was marching against Stirling, he received intelligence of an universal insurrection of the Picts, who had cut off his garrisons, and were again in arms with Drusken at their head. Kenneth was then encamped near Scone, and the Picts under Drusken coming up, both armies drew out in order of battle. Drusken, however, demanded an interview (to save the effusion of blood) with Kenneth, which was granted him. The Pictish prince rejecting the terms offered by the king of the Scots, which were, to yield to him in absolute sovereignty Fife, Merns, and Angus, both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

The army of the Scots was composed of three divisions; the first was commanded by one Bar; the second by Dongal, a nobleman; the third by Donald the king's brother; and Kenneth put himself at the head of a body of cavalry, as a corps

de reserve. The engagement was very desperate, but the Picts were again defeated with great slaughter, and among the number of the slain was their king Druken, who is said to have renewed the engagement seven different times. His armour was presented to Kenneth, who sent it to be hung up at Icolm-kill. The Scottish nobility would have been glad of some repose after their fatigues ; but there is some reason to believe that Kenneth won them over by dividing among their leaders the conquered lands of the Picts. The chief of those leaders are said to have been Angus, Merns, and Fife, who gave their own names to the several divisions that were allotted them.

Though there can be no doubt of the barbarities and bloodshed which happened at this time between the Scots and the Picts, and that Kenneth was highly exasperated at the latter, yet we cannot, with the Scotch historians, admit of his having exterminated the whole race, nor of his declaring this resolution to his people, who all applauded it. It was perhaps sound policy in him to give the Picts no respite in the prosecution of the war, and we accordingly find that he besieged their chief town, which the Scotch writers call Camelon ; but unless by this appellation is meant Abernethy, we know not where it was situated. Kenneth met with a vigorous resistance ; but at last he granted the besieged a truce for three days, which they employed in preparing for a vigorous sally, in which they

were

but not exterminated.

were with great difficulty driven back to the city, after killing six hundred of their enemies. The Scots renewed their efforts, but the Picts defended themselves with great bravery for above four months, though they laboured under all the miseries of famine. At last, however, the place was taken by surprize, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. The reduction of Camelon was followed by that of the Maiden-Castle, now called the castle of Edinburgh, which was abandoned by its garrison, who took refuge in Northumberland.

This period is generally fixed upon as the end of the Pictish government in Scotland; but to imagine that Kenneth exterminated the whole race, is not only absurd, but contrary to the plainest evidence; for the Picts are expressly mentioned by old writers, as a people existing three hundred years after this time. Such a massacre would have been as impolitic as infernal; nor do we meet with any well attested accounts in history of a numerous people, like the Picts, being totally and finally extirpated. The most probable opinion seems to be, that the Scots becoming masters of Pictland by conquest, their language superseded that of its old inhabitants; but we cannot allow that the bulk of the nation are composed of the descendants of those conquerors. The history of almost every country in Europe proves, that the victors impose their own names upon their conquests; that of Gaul,

Gaul, for instance, being changed into France, from its being conquered by the Franks.

The conquest of Pictland has so engrossed the attention of all the Scotch historians, from Fordun down to Buchanan, that they have omitted the other illustrious actions of Kenneth's reign, though they are mentioned in one of the oldest records of the Scotch affairs now extant, and confirmed by Giraldus Cambrensis and Ralph of Chester, two English historians of undoubted authority. According to these writers it seems highly probable, that Kenneth waged war at the same time with the Picts and the Saxons. The famous chronicle quoted by Camden and archbishop Usher expressly tells us, that Kenneth reigned two years in Dalriedæ, or the kingdom of the Scots, before he attacked the Picts; and that he invaded the Saxons six times, and burnt Dunbar and Melrofs. This is confirmed by the two English historians already mentioned, who add, that Kenneth was master of all the territories from the Friths to the Tweed: on the other hand, the Britons burnt Dunblain, and the Danes ravaged Pictland as far as Dunkeld. I mention these circumstances, because, however obscurely they are expressed, they prove, that other people besides the Scots and the Picts, were engaged in this war. Before we dismiss this founder of the Scotch monarchy, we cannot omit mentioning the difficulties which Fordun lies under as to the extirpation of the Picts. At first, he says, that
not

not only their kings and leaders were destroyed, "but, continues he, we read, that their race and generation, and even their language, failed *." The reader will judge how far these expressions may imply, that the people and the language of the Picts disappeared, by being incorporated with those of the Scots. That this is their sense, seems evident from what he afterwards relates, of Kenneth having taken under his protection the harmless part of the people; that he put to the sword those who were in arms, but that he likewise received the submissions of many. Upon the whole, there can no doubt remain that Kenneth, as is usual with other kings and conquerors who set up claims of blood, destroyed, as far as he could, all the Picts who refused to acknowledge his title, and gave them no quarter in the field. This seems to be the opinion of Buchanan himself in his preliminary discourse, which is the best part of his history.

Kenneth is said to have been the author of the Mac Alpine-Laws, so called from his name. We are now entirely ignorant of the municipal laws of Scotland before his time, which were composed by Ethin, son to Eugene with the Crooked Nose, and are mentioned in the chronicle I have so often quoted. Those attributed to Kenneth are as follows:

* Sic quidem non solum reges & duces gentis illius deleti sunt, sed etiam stirps & genus adeo cum idiomatis sui lingua defecisse legitur. Vide Scoti Chron. lib. iv. p. 285.

“ I. That in every shire of the kingdom there should be a judge, for deciding of controversies, well seen in the laws; and that their sons should be brought up in the study of the laws. II. That the laws of the kingdom shall be kept by them; and if any of them shall be convicted of lase majesty, or wrongous judgment, they shall be hanged. III. He that is convicted of theft, shall be hanged; and he that is guilty of slaughter, beheaded. IV. Any woman convicted of a capital crime, shall be either drowned or buried alive. V. He that blasphemes God, or speaks disrespectfully of his saints, of his king, or of his chieftains, shall have his tongue cut out. VI. He that makes a lie to his neighbour's prejudice, shall forfeit his sword, and be excluded the company of all honest men. VII. All persons suspected of any crime, shall suffer the inquest of seven wise and judicious men, or of any number of persons above that, provided the number be odd. VIII. All oppressors, robbers, and invaders of other people's properties, shall be beheaded. IX. All vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and other idle persons, that may, and do not, gain their livelihood by some honest calling, shall be burnt upon the cheek, and whipt with rods. X. The wife shall not be punished for her husband's fault; but the man shall be punished for his wife's fault, if he knows of it; and if she be not his wife, but his concubine, she shall be punished with the same punishment that the man

man deserveth for his crime. XI. He that ravisheth a virgin, unless she desire him in marriage, shall be beheaded. XII. He that defiles another man's bed, shall be put to death, with the woman; unless she has been ravished. XIII. He that ravisheth a woman, shall be beheaded; and the woman declared innocent. XIV. He that is injurious to his father, by any member of his body, shall have that member cut off; then hanged, and remain unburied above ground. XV. He that is a man-slayer, born dumb, or unthankful to his father, shall succeed to no heritage. XVI. All witches, jugglers, and others that have any paction with the devil, shall be burnt alive. XVII. No seed shall be sown, till it be first well cleansed from all noxious grains. XVIII. He who suffers his land to be over-run with poisonous and hurtful weeds, shall pay, for the first fault, an ox to the common good; for the second, ten; and for the third, he shall be forfeited of his lands. XIX. If you find your comrade and friend killed in the field, bury him; but if he be an enemy, you are not bound to do it. XX. If any beast be found straying in the fields, restore him, either to the owner, the Tocioderach, or searcher after thieves, or to the priest of the parish; and whoever keeps him up for three days, shall be punished as a thief. XXI. Who finds any thing that is lost, shall cause it to be proclaimed publicly, that it may be restored to the owner;

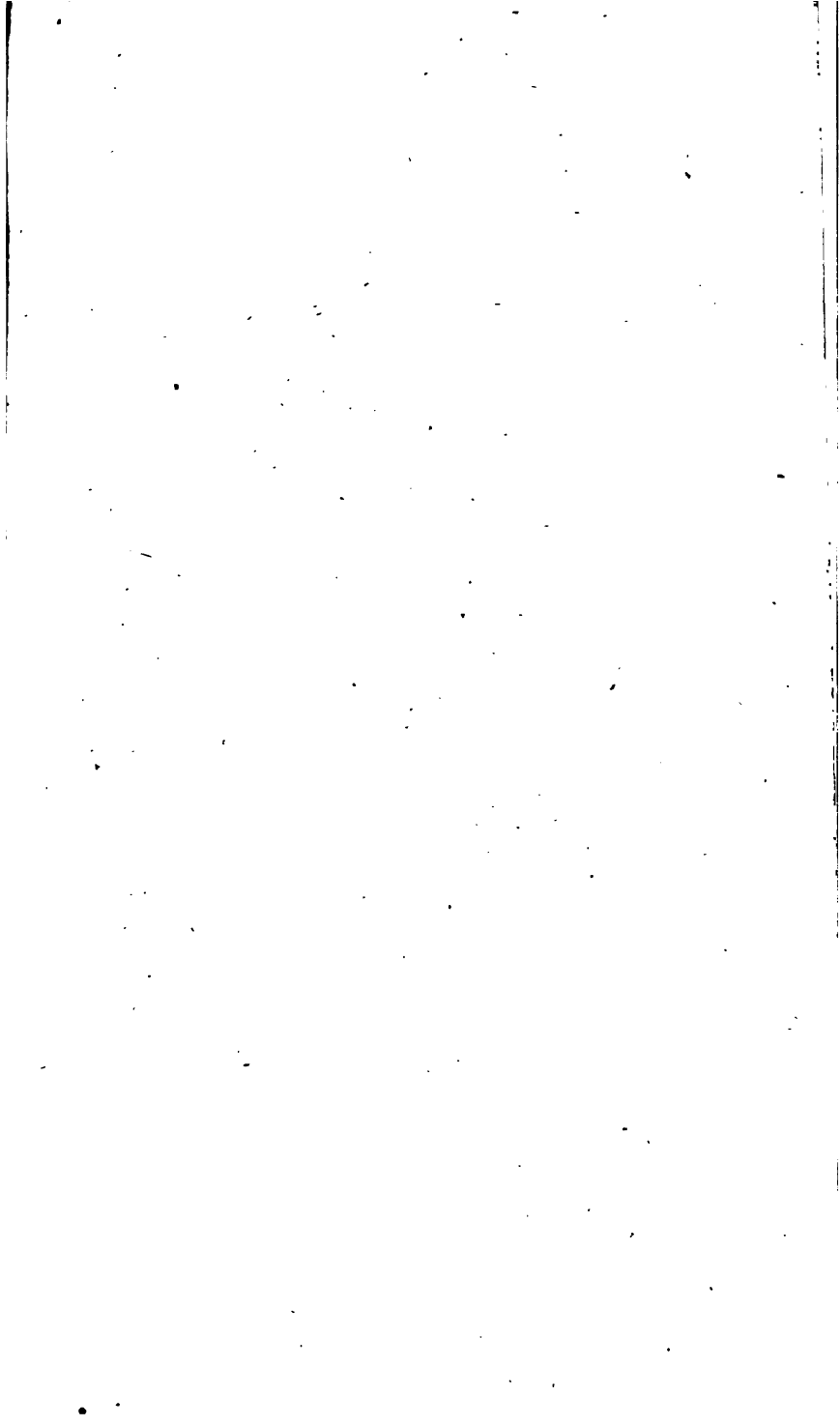
otherwise he shall be punished as a thief. XXII. He who beats his adversary before a judge, shall lose his plea; and the person beat shall be absolved. XXIII. If your neighbour's kine fall a-fighting with yours, and if any of them happen to be killed, if it be not known whose cow it was that did it, the homyl-cow (or the cow that wants horns) shall be blamed for it; and the owner of that cow shall be answerable for his neighbour's damage. XXIV. A sow that eats her pigs, shall be stoned to death, and none be permitted to eat of her flesh. XXV. A sow that eats corn, or furrows up another man's land, shall be killed without any redress to the owner. XXVI. All other beasts that shall be found eating their neighbour's corn or grass, shall be poinded, till the owner give satisfaction for the loss that his neighbour has sustained. XXVII. Altars, churches, oratories, images of saints, chapels, priests, and all ecclesiastical persons, shall be held in veneration. XXVIII. Festival and solemn days, fasts, vigils, and all other ceremonies instituted by the church, shall be punctually observed. XXIX. He who injures a churchman, either by word or deed, shall be punished with death. XXX. All sepulchres shall be held in great veneration, and a cross put upon them, that they may not be trampled upon. XXXI. The place where any man is killed or buried, shall be untilled seven years. XXXII. Every man shall be buried according to his quality.

lity. If he be a nobleman that has done great actions for the common-wealth, he shall be buried after this manner: Two horsemen shall pass before him to the church; the first mounted upon a white horse, cloathed in the defunct's best apparel, and bearing his armour; the other shall be upon a black horse, in a mourning apparel; and when the corpse is to be interred, he who is in mourning apparel shall turn his back to the altar, and lamentably bewail the death of his master; and then return the same way that he came: the other shall offer his horse and armour to the priest; and then inter the corpse with all the rites and ceremonies of the church."

Though I have given the substance of these laws as I find them in Scotch authors, yet many of them are thought to be of a more modern date than the days of Kenneth, ingrafted upon his laws. They principally serve to shew the great power and prerogatives which churchmen formerly enjoyed; and those parts are perhaps the more modern institutions. The customs prescribed in burying noblemen were found so inconvenient and capricious, that they were afterwards commuted for a pecuniary consideration of five pounds. Kenneth is said, at the time of his death, to have been possessed of all the north part of the island as far as Adrian's-wall, and to have reigned in peace sixteen years after his subduction of the Picts. According

Death of
Kenneth.

to the short Chronicle I have already mentioned, he died at Fort Teviot, called there Forthuir-tabaicht, of a fistula in ano. This fort had been one of the Pictish palaces, situated near Dupplin, in Perthshire, where the place still retains its name. Nothing fills us with a higher idea of the political character of this great prince, than his removing the famous stone (now to be seen in Westminster-abbey) which the Scots looked upon as the palladium of their monarchy, from Argyleshire to Scone; a place which had been held in the highest veneration by the Picts, and pitched upon by Kenneth as the place of inauguration for his successors. The situation of the place, in the heart of a fine country, and in the neighbourhood of Perth, which was a kind of key to the conquests of Kenneth, contributed to the attachment the Scots had to the Fatal Stone, as it was called. Before the end of Kenneth's reign the surviving Picts, towards the North, seem to have been entirely reconciled to his government,





DONALD V.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.
BOOK THE THIRD.

From the Death of KENNETH MAC-
ALPIN, to the Accession of MAL-
COLM CAINMORE, in 1054.

THE difference among the Scots writers Donald.
concerning the history and character of
Donald, who succeeded his brother
Kenneth Mac-Alpin in the throne, ought to
caution us against placing any implicit faith in
the histories of Boece and Buchanan, and those
who transcribe from them. By those authors
Donald is represented as a monster of luxury and
prodigality, disregarding of advice, and as en-
couraging the exiled Picts, by his dissipated
course of life, to apply to Osbreth and Ella,
two Saxon kings, for assistance to be restored
to their country, which they proposed to render
tributary to the Saxons. The two kings ac-
cordingly

cordingly invaded Scotland with a powerful army, but were defeated by Donald, who recovered Berwick, which had been taken by the English, and afterwards seized upon the ships and provisions of the enemy. The former being laden with wine, the Scottish king and his officers indulged themselves too freely in drinking; upon which Osbreth rallying his troops, surprized them, cut in pieces twenty thousand of the common soldiers, took the king and most of his nobility prisoners, and carried them about as public objects of hatred and contempt. Osbreth pursued his blow, conquered all the territory between Adrian's and Antennine's-wall, and would have made a descent upon the coasts of Fife, had not his ships been dispersed by a storm. His land-forces, however, marched as far as Sterling, intending to cross the Forth on the bridge built at that town; but finding his army weakened, he concluded a peace with the Scots, who stipulated that they should yield up all the lands between the two præentures. Thus the boundaries of the Scotch dominions towards Sterling was the Forth, and towards Dumbarton, the Clyde; the Forth was from that time to be called the Scotch Sea; and it was made capital for any Scotchman to set his foot on English ground. They were to erect no forts near the English confines, and to pay an annual tribute of a thousand pounds, besides giving up sixty sons of their chief nobility as hostages.

Boundaries.

hostages. We are farther told, that Osbreth erected a coinage at Sterling, a name which distinguishes the English silver to this day; and that he raised a cross on the bridge of Sterling, with an inscription in Latin, signifying it to be the common boundary * between the Britons and the Scots. After this, the Picts, finding that they had been neglected in the treaty between the English and the Scots, fled to Norway, while those who remained in England were massacred. This inglorious peace furnished Donald with a fresh opportunity of indulging his vices; upon which his subjects deeming him irreclaimable, shut him up in prison, where he put an end to his own life in 858.

Not to mention the universal silence of the Saxon and English Chronicles as to those glorious conquests of their princes, this whole narrative carries with it the appearance of imposture. Osbreth, supposing him to have been a king of Northumberland, must have been a Saxon; nor do we find that any tribe of Britons, called by that name, then existed in the north of England. But not to insist upon mere improbabilities, Boece is convicted of forgery by the positive testimony of Fordun and the author of the before-mentioned Chronicle, who have antiquity to support their assertions. According to the former, Donald was a hero, and had

Forgery of
Boece.

* ANGLOS a SCOTIS separat Crux ista remotis :

Arma hic stant BRUTI, stant SCOTI sub hac Cruce tuti.

obtained frequent victories over the Picts. After his accession to the throne, he cultivated friendship with all the neighbouring kings and princes. Some of the Picts had fled to Northumberland, where they were persuaded by the inhabitants, who joined them, to break the truce upon Kenneth's death. The loyal Picts, however, (a fresh proof that the race was not exterminated) and the steadiness of the Scotch king, defeated the efforts of those enemies, all of whom were that very year destroyed. The author of the Chronicle informs us, that Donald reigned four years; that the Guydhels, by whom we imagine he means the Picts, the Caledonians, and the few Britons who might still remain in Scotland, compiled with the king in his palace of Fort Teviot the laws of Ethfin, the son of Eugene with the Crooked Nose; and that he died in his palace of Belachor. Winton, who likewise wrote before Boece, agrees in the same character of this prince; and indeed there is nothing more natural than to suppose, that, having succeeded to the kingdom of the Picts, he would gratify his new subjects by a code of laws, which, though now lost, were perhaps favourable to their nation and customs.

Constantine. Upon the death of Donald, Constantine, his nephew, the son of Kenneth Mac-Alpin, succeeded to the throne. In his time, Denmark and the northern nations continued to send over great numbers of their inhabitants to Scotland

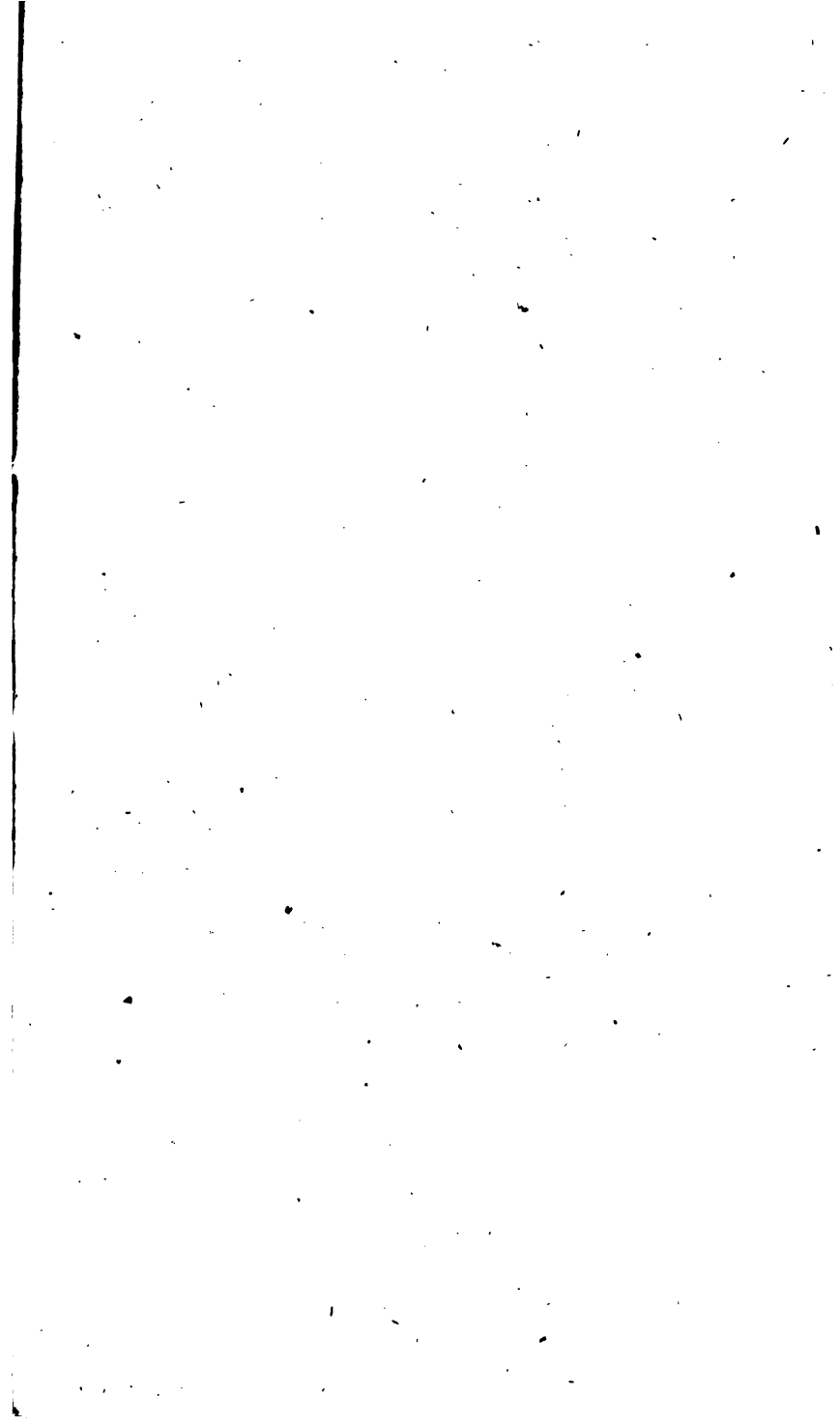
as well as England ; but the Saxon Chronicle and the English historians having transmitted very few particulars as to their progress in Scotland, we must therefore, for some time, depend on the Scotch writers. Upon the landing of a body of these emigrants in the north, Constantine offered them a reception in his harbours, as well as provisions for their money. This, together with the state of their countrymen in England, whom they assisted, procured the Scotch king some respite. That prince finding his nobles very refractory, probably on account of the indulgence extended to the Picts during the last reign, convened an assembly of the states, who demanded an abrogation of those laws. In the mean time, Ewen of the isles broke out into rebellion, and seized the castle of Dunstaffage ; but this insurrection was soon quelled, and the rebel put to death.

During those transactions, the Picts who had fled to Denmark prevailed with his Danish majesty to send his two brethren, Hungar and Hubba, to recover the Pictish dominions from Constantine. These princes accordingly landed on the coast of Fife, where they committed the most horrid barbarities ; for they even murdered the ecclesiastics who took refuge in the island of May, at the mouth of the Forth. Constantine soon put himself at the head of an army, and defeated that division of the Danes commanded by Hubba, near the water of Leven ;

*Invasion by
the Danes,*

but afterwards attacking that under Hungar, he was in his turn totally defeated; and being taken prisoner, was carried to a cove or cave, since called The Devil's Cave, and there beheaded. The monuments of Danish antiquity still to be seen in the county of Fife, leave no room to doubt that it was the scene of many bloody wars between these people and the Scots: the vestiges of the trenches appear near the place of battle, even to this day; and by the common people are called the Danes Dikes. The Scots are said to have lost ten thousand men in this action; and Constantine, after reigning sixteen years, suffered death in the year 874.

Fordun asserts, that some Danes were settled in Scotland before the last mentioned descent, who lived in tolerable good correspondence with the Scots, till the Picts, who were not yet thoroughly subdued, persuaded them to join the invasion. The same historian presents us with a more striking proof than any we have yet instanced, that the Picts were then subsisting as a people under Constantine; for he informs us, that prince was betrayed by the Picts whom he had rashly employed in his army, and who proved like serpents in his bosom; that they fled upon the first onset; and, being followed by others, the king was left alone, surrounded, taken, and put to death by his enemies; who immediately after their victory, returned on board their ships, and the Scots carried





ETHUS.

ried their king's body to Icolm-kill, where they interred it. The Little Chronicle mentions a war carried on between Constantine and the Irish, who appear to have invaded Pictland likewise; (and this is by no means incredible) but that in the third year of the war, Amlaib, the Irish king, was killed by the Scotch monarch in another invasion; that the war between the Danes and the Scots happened after his death, and that the former (whom the author calls Normans) passed a whole year in Pictland.

Eth, called the Swiftfoot from his agility, succeeded his brother Constantine. The Little Chronicle says, that he performed nothing memorable; reigned but one year; and was killed at Inneroury. Fordun tells us, that his accession was disputed by Gregory, the son of Dongal; and that the nobility being divided, a battle was fought between the two parties, in which Eth was mortally wounded, in the first onset; but that he lived two months after, and was buried at Icolm-kill. Such is the account we have of this prince, from the oldest and most authentic records. Boece and later writers have represented him as voluptuous and indolent; as abandoning his dominions to the Danes, for which he was imprisoned by his subjects; and dying of grief on the third day of his confinement. These facts seem to be invented merely to justify the power subjects possess over kings.

king of Scotland have in those days, to render him voluptuous, luxurious, and indolent!

Gregory the
Great,

Gregory, deservedly surnamed the Great, was the successor of Eth the Swiftfoot. The permission he allowed soon after his coronation at Scone, for the royal interment of his predecessor's body; his passing an act of indemnity for all who had borne arms against him; and his restoring order and unanimity to his kingdom; were the happy omens of his administration. The unheard-of cruelties committed by the Danes in England, and the inability of the Saxon princes, even of Alfred the Great, to protect their northern dominions, induced many of the inhabitants to put themselves under the protection of Gregory, and to pay him fealty and homage; "because (says Fordun) they thought it better willingly to submit to the Catholic Scots, though enemies, than unwillingly to the Pagan infidels." Gregory having taken care, by several acts of munificence, to secure the clergy on his side, convened an assembly of his states at Forfar, whence, after making several regulations, he marched against the Picts, whom the Danes had left in possession of Fife. Unable to resist his power they went over to the Lothians, and from thence towards the north of England, to join their confederates the Danes, who were now in possession of York, and masters of all Northumberland. Their great general Rollo, predecessor to William the

contemporary
with
Alfred.

Con-

Conqueror, afterwards king of England, and himself the conqueror of Normandy, had made a descent upon England in his voyage to France; but he found it already over-burdened with Danes. In 875, no fewer than three armies of those emigrants arrived from the continent; but they were employed in the conquest of England, while Gregory passing the frith of Forth, drove their countrymen, and their Pictish allies, out of Lothian into Northumberland, tho' not before they had thrown a garrison into Berwic.

No sooner did Gregory appear before that town, than the Christian inhabitants, in consequence, no doubt, of the allegiance they had lately sworn, received him within their walls, where the Danish part of the garrison was put to the sword, and the Pictish made prisoners. From Berwic, Gregory pursued the Danes, under their leader Hardnute, into Northumberland, where he defeated them; and having expelled them from that province, he passed the winter in Berwic. The Saxon Chronicle, and the English historians, take no notice of these particulars; but the truth is, they every where seem to be prepossessed against the Scots; and very probably, considering the distracted state of England at that time, they had no opportunities of being informed of what passed in the northern parts of their country, at least not early enough to enter it upon their annals; for such is the form of their histories.

Gregory's
conquests.

declared himself against the two factious noblemen; and the Irish having, under pretence of making reprisals, invaded Galloway, he repelled them with loss to their ships, and afterwards passed over in person to Ireland. The two noblemen, who had before been enemies to each other, upon his landing joined their forces, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river Bane with Gregory, that he might be forced to return for want of provisions. Gregory found means, however, to get possession of an eminence, from whence he forced Brian's entrenchments, and killed that chief, with a number of his followers: upon which Corneil made a retreat into the more inaccessible parts of the island. After this, the Scotch king reduced Dungard and Pont; by which we are to understand Dundalk and Drogheda; but, on his march towards Dublin, he was opposed at the head of a great army by Corneil, who was defeated and killed by the Scots. Gregory then continued his route to Dublin, where young Donach resided; but was met by a deputation, with bishop Cormac, in his vestments, at its head, who agreed to receive him into their city, and to put it under his protection. Fordun says, that he was the nearest in blood to the succession of Ireland; this, however, can be meant only after Donach: for upon his entering Dublin, Gregory declared himself guardian to the king, while under age; appointed a

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DONALD VI.

regency; and obliged them to swear that they never would admit into their land either a Dane or an Englishman, without his permission. He afterwards placed garrisons in the strongest fortresses of the kingdom, and returned to Scotland; but, when Donach came of age, Gregory recalled his troops. Tho' I pretend not to ascertain the several facts of this conquest of Ireland, as recited by Scotch writers, yet it seems indisputable that Gregory made such an expedition with great glory. Fordun even asserts, that he conquered all Ireland; and is supported by the very ancient Register of the priory of St. Andrew's, a record of the greatest authenticity, as well as antiquity, of any of the historical monuments of Scotland, because it was undoubtedly written in the year 1251, almost forty years before Edward the first of England carried off the other Scotch archives. We have now only to add to the preceding account of Gregory's reign, that he was a great benefactor to the church, as will be seen in the ecclesiastical part of this history; that he faithfully sent back the hostages he had obliged the Irish to give him for their fidelity to Donach; that he built the city of Aberdeen, finished his glorious life at his castle of Dundore in the Garioch, in the year 892, and was buried with his ancestors at Icolm-kill.

Gregory's
death.

Gregory the Great was succeeded by Donald Donald III. the third, son of Constantine, who imitated the

virtues of his predecessor. The Scotch historians seem unanimous that Northumberland was, at this time, in possession of Donald; this, however, is contradicted by the best English authorities, which tell us, that ever since the year 883, it was governed by Guthred, who was of Danish extraction, but tributary to Alfred. We therefore have reason to believe, that the Danes recovered whatever acquisitions the late monarch had made in Northumberland, before the end of his reign; and that Alfred found it convenient for him to accept of their homage. Notwithstanding this, we find that Donald sent Alfred a body of troops, who did him considerable service, in his wars with the Danes. Donald's friendship was the more meritorious, as the Northumbrian Danes had offered to submit to him, provided he would join with them in opposing Alfred; but he refused all their terms, unless they became Christians. I am warranted in the above conjecture by Fordun, who informs us, that the Danish king of Northumberland and East-Anglia (whom he calls Gurmund) had been baptized by means of Alfred; and that though Donald knew that both he and his family had sworn fealty to Alfred, yet he entered into an alliance with his son Ranald, and his kinsman Sithric, who succeeded him. While the Scotch monarch was settling those affairs in the South, his dominions in the North were harassed by bands of



CONSTANTINUS II.

of robbers from Murray and Ross. Returning northward therefore, he bravely encountered them, killed some thousands, and totally defeated them near Forres. It seems not improbable, from the Little Chronicle, that those robbers were no other than Danes from the continent, who, very possibly, might have been joined by some of the Picts of Ross and Murray. They appear to have been twice defeated by the Scots; first near Cullen in Barmshire, and afterwards at Forres.

Defeat of
the Danes.

All historians agree that Donald, after his victory at Forres, died there; and, perhaps, the extraordinary stone I have mentioned may be his monument. Fordun intimates, that his sudden death, which happened in the year 903, and the eleventh of his reign, was owing to poison, if not occasioned by his great fatigues. He was buried at Icolm-kill.

Constantine the third, the son of Eth Swift-foot, next ascended the Scottish throne. Edward the Elder was then king of England, who had given the Danes repeated overthrows, till at last he compelled those who were settled in the southern parts of the island to submit to his government. We have no authentic history of the first years of this prince's administration; for his alliance with the Danes, which is the most remarkable transaction recorded of his reign, could not happen before his sixteenth year, according to the English histories which may be now

Constantine III.

depended on. The truth is, Edward of England grew uneasy at seeing the Scots in possession of the northern provinces; and made such extravagant demands upon Constantine as induced him to enter into a confederacy with the Danes, which, however, lasted only two years; for the Danes found it their interest to join with the English. Soon after, Edward made such preparations that the Danes applied to Constantine to renew the league between them. Fordun asserts, that Edward had already invaded the Danish possessions, and laid them waste for a whole month; upon which they applied in the most humble manner for Constantine's protection; which having obtained, they confirmed all their engagements by oath. Malcolm, but according to the above-mentioned historian, Eugene, son of the late king Donald, was then presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, to whom Constantine, I think with great wisdom, assigned the Scotch possessions between the two prætentures, as his appennage, on condition of his residing there, and defending them against all invaders. It was not long before Malcolm was obliged to take the field, at the head of a body of troops, by way of auxiliaries to the Danes. The Scotch writers speak very obscurely of the event of Malcolm's first campaign; their silence, however, is supplied by the English historians. Athelstan, who, according to the former, was the natural son of Edward,

Cumberland
given to the
Scots,

Edward, commanded for his father, at that time, in the north of England. Being in no condition to resist the confederate forces of the Scots and Danes, he remained upon the defensive to observe the motions of the former. Perceiving they were chiefly intent on plunder, he offered them battle; but politically retiring from the field, while the Scots were busy in pillaging his camp, Athelstan rallied his forces at an appointed signal, and cut both the Scots and Danes to pieces; prince Malcolm himself being carried wounded out of the field.

This victory raised Edward to the summit of glory; and perhaps, Constantine, rather than endanger his hereditary dominions, might pay fealty to Edward for the territories he held south of Forth, as did Reginald, king of the Northumbrian Danes, and the Britons of Strathclyde. This is a fact mentioned by the Saxon Chronicle; but there is no reason for extending this homage, with some modern English writers, to the counties north of Forth. The Scotch historians, however, are most unpardonably inaccurate in their accounts of this important period.

Upon the accession of Athelstan, Edward the Elder's son, to the crown of England, several conspiracies were formed against him, which encouraged the northern Danes to take arms, and surprize York and Davenport. They were headed by one of their princes, named Sithric,

and

on terms of
fealty.

Progress of
the Danes.

and became so formidable that Athelstan entered into a treaty with him, and gave him his sister in marriage: Sithric, however, did not long survive the nuptials. He was succeeded by his son Guthred, who endeavouring to throw off Athelstan's yoke, was defeated, and fled into Scotland. Athelstan then besieged York, which he took, and advancing to Scotland, demanded Constantine to deliver up Guthred, and his brother Anlaf. Constantine, not chusing either to provoke the English monarch, or to violate the sacred rights of hospitality, desired a conference with him; which took place at Dakers, in Northumberland. This meeting has been variously represented. The English historians pretend, that Constantine met Athelstan as a vassal; and not only surrendered to him the superiority of all his dominions, but gave him his son as an hostage for his obedience. We know of no son that Constantine then had, unless it was the infant to whom William of Malmesbury says, Athelstan stood godfather at the font. The disagreement, and, indeed, the mistakes found among the English historians at this period, expose their credibility to the most unfavourable suspicions. It is most probable, that the two kings accommodated affairs at the conference, upon Constantine's promising to withdraw his protection from Guthred; who, with his brother Anlaf, was permitted to make his escape to Yorkshire, where

where he re-commenced hostilities. It is possible too, that Athelstan might think the Scots were privy to his conduct, and might resent it, by some incursions into their country; but no reputable English historian has, at this time, given Athelstan a complete victory over the Scots. He rather seems to have acted upon the defensive, a powerful confederacy being at this time formed against him; in which the Scots, the Northumbrian Danes, the Irish, and the Welch, were parties. Anlaf, said to have been an Irish prince (but whether he was a brother of Guthred is uncertain) was son-in-law to Constantine. The Welch were the first who took arms; but, not being supported, were quickly reduced by Athelstan, who directly marched against the Scots. This must have happened in the year 934, seven years after the interview between the English and Scotch monarchs at Dakers. What passed in the intermediate time between 934 and 937, or (according to the Saxon Chronicle) 938, does not appear either from the Scotch or English records; but the latter being the most authentic at this period, with which some of their authors were contemporaries, we follow them, rather than those of the Scots, who are destitute of precision.

It seems to be very probable, that Athelstan continued for some years at York, and that hostilities were in the mean time carried on by
both

both parties. In the year 938, the combined army of the Scots and Irish, under Anlaf, landed at the mouth of the Humber, and advancing into the country, were joined by the prince of Cumberland, by Fordun called Eugene; and therefore we cannot see with what propriety he is named Malcolm by later historians, unless Eugene had been then dead, and was succeeded by a brother named Malcolm. Athelstan soon put himself at the head of an army, and both parties having encamped in sight of each other, they determined to come speedily to a decisive action. While they were making the necessary dispositions, Anlaf, in imitation of Alfred, who had undertaken a similar adventure some years before, disguised himself like a harper, a character which procured admission in those days into courts, houses, and camps, otherwise inaccessible; and entering the English camp, after entertaining Athelstan with his music, and observing the situation of his army, was dismissed with a noble reward. An English or Danish soldier who had served under Anlaf, recollected him through his disguise, watched his motions, and saw him bury, in a corner of the English camp, the gratuity he received. After Anlaf's departure, the soldier acquainted Athelstan with what he had observed; and, by his advice, the king exchanged tents with a bishop, who was slain that very night in an irruption made by Anlaf, who thought he had killed the English monarch.

The

Adventure
of Anlaf.



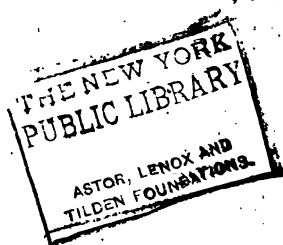
Bannerman sculp.

EUGENIUS VIII.

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FERGUS, III.



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SOLVATHIUS.

The Scotch historians take no notice of this fact, tho' it is unquestionably attested; and when all its circumstances are considered, I cannot look upon the attempt of Anlaf as much better than a designed assassination; perhaps, it contributed to the dreadful carnage which ensued next day.

Both armies were encamped at a place called Bruneford, and by Fordun, Bröunyngheld, near the Humber. It appears that the Scots expected to be joined by a body of Welch, as they had been by some auxiliary Danes under Froda. They were disappointed, however, through the vigilance of Athelstan, who understanding that the Irish, under Anlaf, had been terribly fatigued by their nocturnal irruption, and perhaps apprehensive that they might be joined by the Welch, resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. The Scots were commanded by Constantine; the Irish by Anlaf; the Cumbrians by their own prince; and the Danes by Froda. Athelstan had under him his brother Edmund, and Turketil, his favourite general. They entered the entrenchments of the confederates sword in hand; but the resistance they met with was chiefly from the Scots, who were attacked by the Londoners and Mercians, the flower of the English army, under Turketil. Constantine was in the most imminent danger of being killed or taken prisoner; but he was saved by the loyalty and courage of his subjects,

The Scots
defeated.

though the English writers pretend that he fell in the field. But it is universally agreed, that after a long dispute, Athelstan obtained a most complete victory.

The English historians mention this as the most bloody battle that had ever been fought in Britain; by which expression (as Buchanan well observes) they often mean that part of the island situated south of Adrian's prætenture. I know of no historian who mentions the number of the slain, though it is agreed that the combined army lost five princes or chieftains, and seven generals; but we are ignorant of the distinction between those two denominations. Fordun mentions three princes, and nine generals; and says, that the slain were innumerable. Athelstan's loss was likewise very considerable; for, exclusive of a great number of his soldiers, his two cousin-germans, Edwin and Ethelwin, were killed. This battle proved fatal to the Scots; for the active Athelstan invaded their country, over-ran its southern parts, and stripped them of all the provinces they held south of Forth. The reader in the note *, will find the
ridi-

* " King Athelstan going to make war against the Scots, and by the way paying a visit to the tomb of that saint (St. John de Beverley) there pawned his knife at the altar, promising to redeem it at his return: but when they had thus fought against the Scots, he begged of God a sign, whereby it might appear to future ages, that they were justly vanquished by the English; and thereupon, the king striking a certain rock with his sword, near the castle of Dunbar, he made a gap in it an ell deep." It
seems

ridiculous legends related by Brompton, and other English historians, concerning their monarch's expedition to Scotland, which render great part of his history very justly suspicious, though the facts here related are indisputable.

Constantine being now old, and dispirited by the misfortunes of his country, soon after the battle of Bruneford, resigned his crown to Malcolm, and retired to the monastery of the Culdees, at St. Andrew's, where he died, and was buried five years after, in the year 943.

The modern historians of Scotland seem to have erred greatly, in supposing this Malcolm to have been the prince of the Cumbrians in the battle of Bruneford; because the English writers have told us, that the name of the Cumbrian prince was Eugene, and that he was killed in that battle. This coincides with Fordun's relation; and therefore, the Malcolm here mentioned, very probably, was brother to that Eugene, whom Ingulphus, as well as Fordun, expressly says, was then prince of Cumberland *.

Malcolm.

Ingulphus
ad ann. 948.

seems king Athelstan fulfilled his promise, and upon his returning with victory, enriched the church of St. John with great possessions, and so, I suppose, got his knife again. There is another miracle related also by the monks, of Athelstan's sword being lost out of the scabbard, just when he was ready to fight, and another being by miracle put in the place, at the prayers of archbishop Odo; which sword, they pretend, was kept in the king's treasury. It is no less a wonder than the former; and one such as these is enough at one time.

* William of Malmesbury calls him, *Regulus Deirorum Eli-genius*.

Tho' the resignation of Constantine the third is fixed to the year 938, yet there is some reason for believing, that this Malcolm did not assume the regal title till Constantine's death, in 943. The great progress which the Danes had made in England against Edmund the first, son to Athelstan, proved of no small advantage to Malcolm, as it rendered him an useful ally to Edmund; tho' the battle of Bruneford, and the subsequent losses of the Scots, in their wars with Athelstan, had reduced them so low, that Malcolm at first cultivated peace with all his neighbours. We understand from the English historians, that the people of Cumberland, after the battle of Bruneford, had chosen a prince of their own; that Anlaf, the English Dane, having escaped to Ireland, after that engagement, was recalled from thence by the Northumbrians, upon the death of Athelstan; and that upon his arrival, he recovered all Northumberland, and made a very considerable progress to the southward. This proved an additional inducement for Edmund to strengthen his connections with Malcolm. The English monarch was forced by Anlaf to an inglorious peace, into which he was partly betrayed by the treachery of his own subjects; but he no sooner discovered their perfidy, than, in the year 944, he invaded Northumberland, from whence he expelled both Anlaf and Reginald, the son of Guthred, who was formerly king of that country.

try. The Northumbrians had been greatly assisted in their revolt by the Cumbrians, the name of whose new-elected prince was Dunmail; and young Edmund, who was highly elated with his success, after deposing him, offered his country to Malcolm, on condition of his holding it as a fief of the crown of England, and of his being ready to assist him both by sea and land. Matthew of Westminster says, that Edmund ordered the eyes of Dunmail's sons to be put out; but he informs us, that the only service Malcolm engaged to perform for his acquisition, was, to assist in defending the northern border. Brompton, however, with great appearance of truth asserts, that the Scottish prince was obliged (we suppose, if required) to attend Edmund's court at certain feasts; and that houses for his lodging on the road were assigned him. Buchanan has added Westmoreland to Cumberland in the same cession, with some appearance of probability, as it seems unlikely that the Cumbrians were confined to the present county of that name.

Nothing but the distressed situation of Edmund's affairs, by the Danes, could have prevailed upon that monarch to have given the king of Scotland so firm a footing as he had acquired in England by the late treaty. As matters were then circumstanced in the North of England, the reservation of fealty was little more than a matter of form, which Malcolm might

might observe or refuse as he pleased. Fordun informs us, with the English historians, that a second convention was concluded, by which it was agreed, that Indulf, Malcolm's heir, and the other heirs of Scotland for the time being, should perform homage and fealty to king Edmund, and his successors on the throne of England, for Cumberland; and that neither of them should give shelter to, accept of fealty from, or form connections with, the barbarians of the North (meaning the Danes). Upon the murder of Edmund, in 954, the English chose his brother Edred for his successor, to whom Malcolm likewise proved a most faithful ally. But before I proceed farther, it is necessary to explain a very important difficulty which occurs at this period.

Fidelity of
Malcolm.

Historians
censured.

The Saxon Chronicle, in mentioning the battle of Bruneford, confounds the Hibernian and British Scots under the common name of Scots, which has occasioned Dr. Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, and editor of that Chronicle, to suppose that the Scots whom Athelstan then defeated, were the Hibernian Scots. This, however, is only so far true as Anlaf commanded the Irish Scots, and in fact, was the head of that confederacy. It is not easy to say, whether the king of the Northumbrian Danes, and Anlaf, king of the Hibernian Scots, were the same person. I am inclined to think they were; and that the Scots always acted in that war as his auxiliaries.

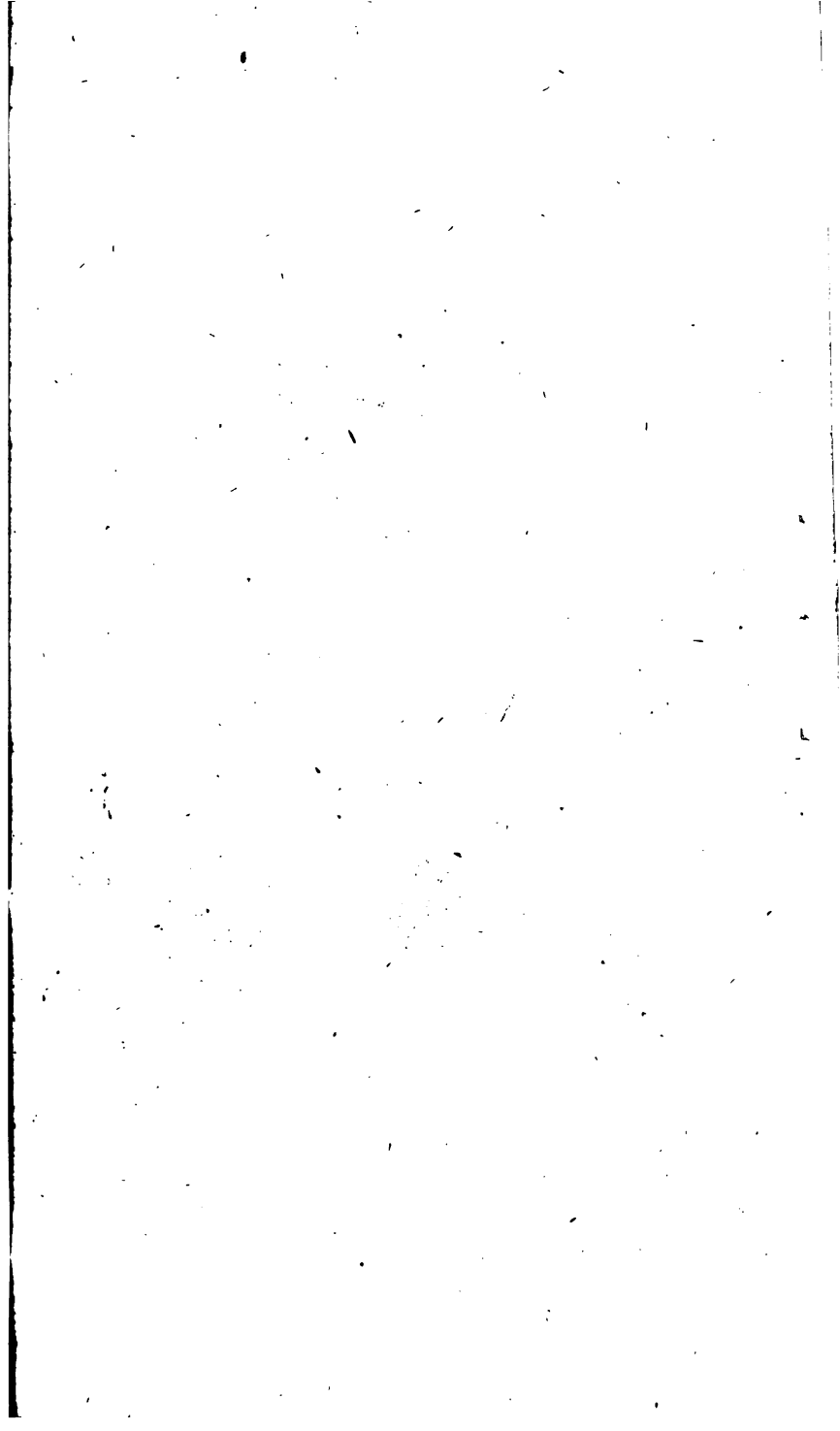
auxiliaries. I am even somewhat doubtful, whether Constantine, king of Scotland, was present at the battle of Bruneford; for he is not mentioned in the Cottonian manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle, though named in that published by bishop Gibson. I am the more suspicious on this head, because it is indisputable that Eugene, prince of Cumberland, was killed in that battle, whom the author of the Chronicle, and the other English historians, might very readily mistake for Constantine, as they did the latter being killed in that engagement, though there is not a more certain fact of that age than that he survived it five years.

Nothing can be more evident, than that it was to the Caledonian or British Scots the country of Cumberland was ceded by Edmund; for when his brother Edred ascended the throne, the Northumbrians being again inclined to rebel, Malcolm, or rather his son Indulf, renewed his oath of fealty to Edred at York, which disconcerted the schemes of the revolters, who submitted to Turketil. It is, however, certain, that Anlaf was still alive and in Denmark, from whence, soon after Malcolm's performing his homage, he returned to Northumberland with a body of Danes, which once more put him in possession of that country. It must be acknowledged, that the modern Scotch historians are not very consistent at this period, and that some difficulties

ties occur in their narrations. They tell us, that upon the first rebellion of the Northumbrians against Edred, Malcolm assisted him with ten thousand men; but we know of no assistance sent by him to Edred against Anlaf. Perhaps, Fordun may remove this difficulty, by the new stipulations of fealty, which, as I have already mentioned, were formed at the second convention between Malcolm and Edmund.

From them it would seem, as if Malcolm thought himself disengaged from his oath of fealty and homage, and at liberty to assist, at least not to oppose, his friend and kinsman Anlaf, whom he might consider as the lawful king of Northumberland. This fresh invasion of Anlaf happened in the year 949, and he remained in quiet possession of Northumberland till the year 952, when he was expelled by Eric. Edred, upon this, carried an army into Northumberland, which he again reduced. We do not find, however, that Malcolm sent him any assistance. Fordun, indeed, says, that the Scots assisted Edred in laying waste Northumberland; but this was previous to the invasion of the Danes, under Anlaf. As to Malcolm himself, proving it seems a severe justiciary, he was murdered by a conspiracy of robbers, at Ulrine in the county of Murray, in the year 952, and fiftieth of his reign.

Indulf,





INDULFUS.

Indulf, son of the late king Constantine, succeeded Malcolm, whose son Duff was created prince of Cumberland. Indulf appears to have been sensible of the barbarity of the Danes, and therefore cultivated the friendship of the Anglo-Saxon kings; it is very possible, however, that at this time Anlaf was dead. The connections between Indulf and Edred exasperated the Danes so highly, that after Edred's death, according to Fordun, they invaded Scotland with a fleet of fifty ships; having first laid waste the more southern coasts of England. This descent alarmed the islanders as well as the Scots, whom (says our old historian) the Danes now hated as much as they did the English. They were, however, expelled from East-Lothian; and crossing over to Fife, they were defeated there likewise. Indulf seems to have taken great care to guard his coasts; for, notwithstanding the advantage the Danes enjoyed in their shipping, they could not effect another landing, till seeming to steer for their own country, the Scots were thrown off their guard, and their enemies all of a sudden landed at Cullen in Banffshire. Indulf soon came up with, and attacked them in their camp, from whence he, and his two generals, Græme and Dunbar, drove them towards their ships: but the Scottish king was killed in an ambuscade he fell into during the pursuit.

It must be acknowledged, that the history of the succession to the crown of Scotland, at this

The Scots
take possession of Edinburgh.

period, is very confused ; for the Old Chronicle I have so often mentioned, makes Malcolm, who succeeded Constantine, to have been the son of Dunmail ; nor does it relate whose son Indulf was. We learn, however, one very important fact from it, viz. that under Indulf, the Scots acquired the possession of the castle of Edinburgh ; an incident which may serve to prove the uncertainty of the Scotch geography in those days, and that the country south of Forth was possessed sometimes by Saxons, and sometimes by Danes : but it was probably from the Anglo-Saxons that the Scots recovered Edinburgh ; for there is no doubt of their predecessors having been, long before this time, in possession of Lothian. The same record mentions a victory which Indulf obtained over the Summerleds or Danes, in Buchan.

Duff.

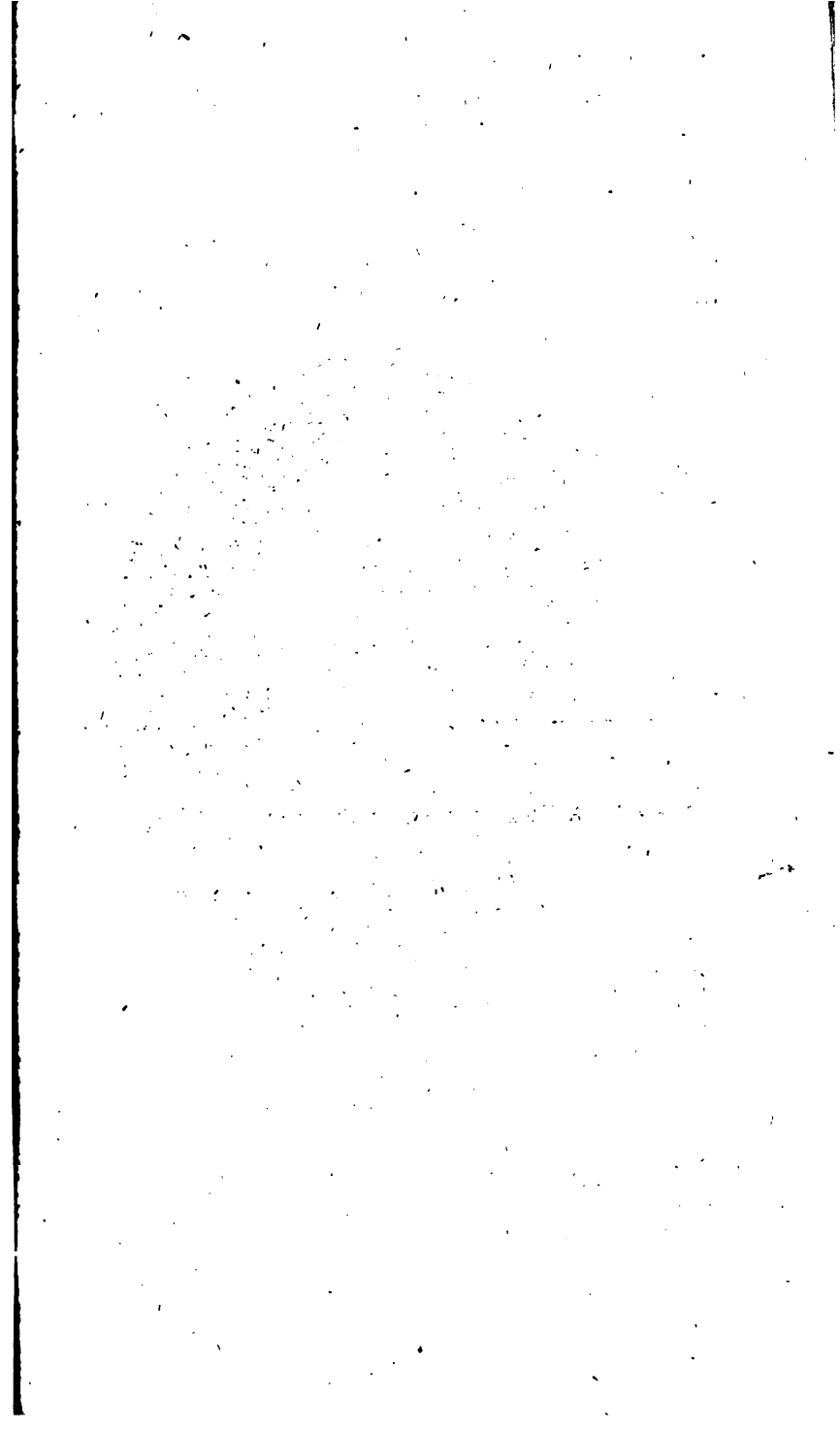
Duff, which in the Gaelic language signifies a black man, and who is accordingly in the Chronicle termed Niger, succeeded Indulf. He is said to have been the son of Malcolm, and an excellent prince. Fordun calls him a man of dove-like simplicity ; but at the same time, the terror of rebels, thieves, and robbers. The story of his health being affected by a magical image melting before a fire, is agreeable to the monkish fictions of that age. Even Fordun has not mentioned it ; but informs us, that in his pursuit of robbers through all their haunts, especially in Murray, he was so incautious, that
confpi-

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



DUFFUS.





COLENUS.

conspirators broke into his bed-chamber in the night, and murdered him. The leader of the conspiracy is said to have been Donald, governor of the town and castle of Forreths, who was instigated to this treason by his wife, and the king's refusing to pardon some of his relations. The story of his body being buried by the conspirators under a bridge near Kinlofs, that it might not be discovered, is probable; but the miracles which attended the concealment till the body was found out, are unworthy of repetition: it is sufficient to say, that the flight of the conspirators pointed out their guilt; that they were retaken, and brought to condign punishment. The Little Chronicle I have before quoted mentions, though in almost unintelligible words, some wars not taken notice of by other historians, in which Duff was conqueror; but that he afterwards lost his crown in the fifth year of his reign. His death corresponds with the year 965.

Culen, the son of Indulf, had been nominated prince of Cumberland in his father's reign, as heir apparent to the crown. Culen. There is reason, from the Little Chronicle, for supposing that he had some differences with his predecessor; however, be that as it may, we are told that he severely punished his murderers. Notwithstanding this, Culen plunged himself into vices of every kind to such a degree, as renders the fact very questionable, were it not

B b 2 • support-

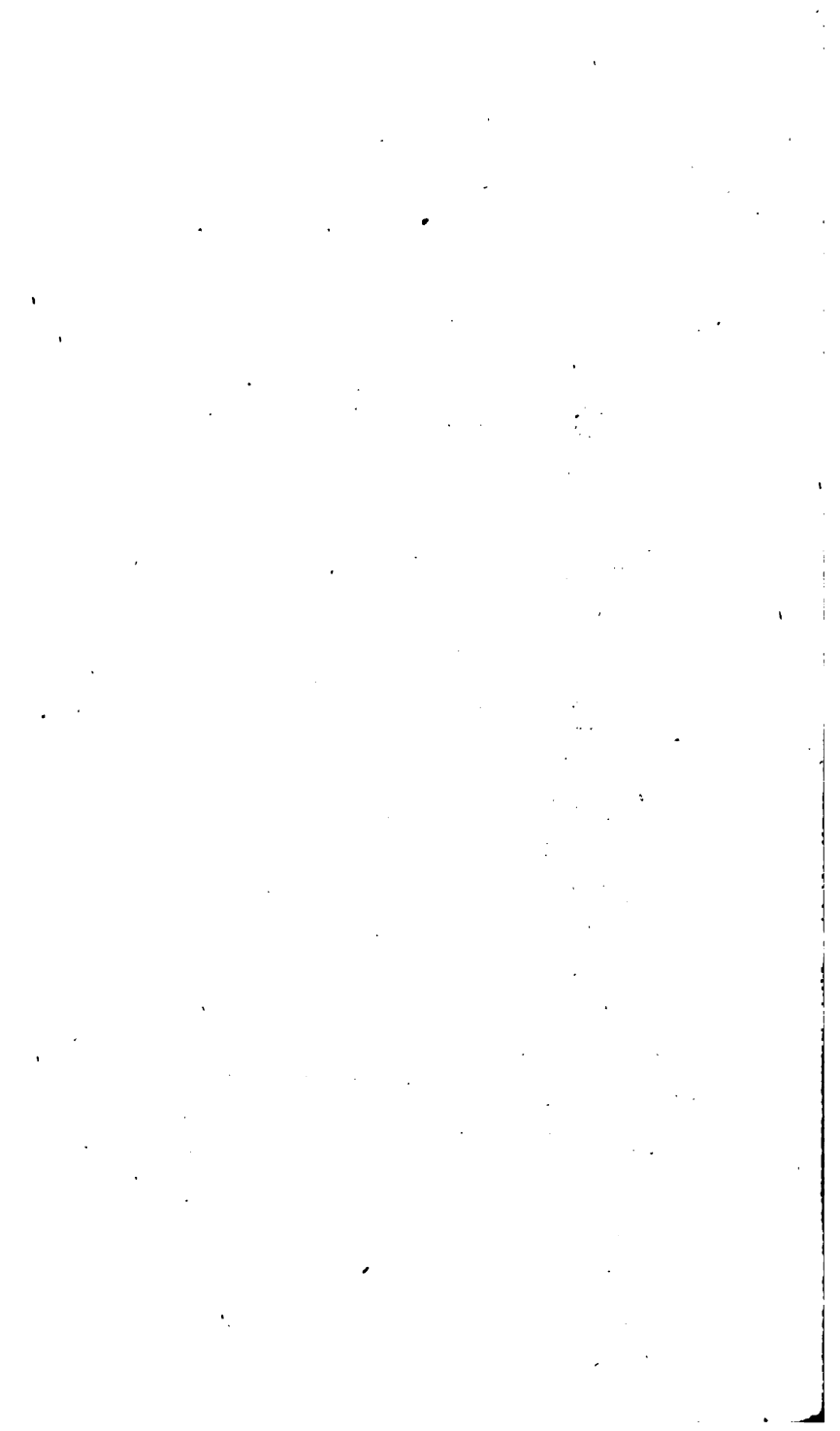
supported by Fordun. An unbounded passion for women is charged upon him as his capital crime; but the truth is, he must have been more than man if he was guilty of all the acts of incontinency mentioned by Buchanan and Boece, who not only accuse him of fornication and adultery with women of all ranks, but even of incest with his own sisters and daughters. The king's example infected his subjects; and he apologized for his conduct, by pretending that he wanted to soften their manners. The wiser part of the nobility withdrew from court; and the subjects were fleeced to supply their monarch's vices and luxuries. The kingdom thus became a scene of public rapine; and at last an assembly of the states was convened at Scone, for the re-settling the government. Culen was assassinated on his journey to preside at this assembly, near the village of Methven, by Rohard, thane, or sheriff of Fife, whose daughter the king is said to have deflowered. Fordun acknowledges that he was a degenerated prince; but says that he was buried with his ancestors at Icolm-kill. The Short Chronicle mentions his being killed with his brother Ethod, by the Britons; by whom the author probably means the Scotch Lowlanders.

Kenneth III On the death of Culen, who was murdered in the fifth year of his reign, Kenneth the third succeeded to the Scottish crown, and his administration is a remarkable period in the Scotch history.



Wall. sculp.

KENNETH III.



history. This prince mounted the throne in the time of public confusion, and foreign invasion. The late disorders had so infected all the younger part of the nobility, as to render them seemingly irreclaimable. This, however, did not discourage Kenneth, who was a prince of invincible resolution. He began with reforming his own court and family; and had sagacity to perceive, that he must effect his purpose by favouring the liberties of the common people against the oppressions of the nobility, which were now become intolerable. He pursued this plan with so much success, that having nothing to fear from the great barons, he ordered them to appear before him at Lanerk: but the majority, conscious of their demerits, did not attend. The king, whose prudence was equal to his resolution, dissembled his displeasure so well, that those noblemen who appeared were charmed with his affability, and the noble entertainment he gave them. Kenneth went from Clydesdale to Galloway, where he performed his devotions at the shrine of the popular St. Ninian.

Next year he appointed another meeting of his states at Scone, where the assembly was very numerous; the guilty part of the nobility being encouraged to appear by the king's apparent mildness and moderation. Kenneth had concerted his measures so happily, that all of a sudden the place of meeting was beset with armed men. Even the innocent part of the assembly, who

Assembly of
the states.

who had not been acquainted with Kenneth's intention, trembled at their danger; however, the king soon dissipated their fears by a speech, in which he informed them that none but the guilty had any thing to apprehend; that his purpose was to encourage industry; and that he was determined at all events, to bring rebels and robbers to justice. After this, he ordered such of the nobility as were known to protect and encourage the most notorious delinquents, to be taken into custody; and he intimated, that their submitting to public justice, should be the price of their liberty.

Feudal law.

From this transaction, the reader may conceive some idea of the national miseries attending the feudal law, as then established in Scotland. Every dependent considered his immediate lord as his sovereign; and many of them never supposed that the chief of their clan (as he was called) could be controuled by any other power. The same notions prevailed in after-times, under vicious princes, who attempted to impose upon the people oppressions more intolerable than those imposed by their chiefs; but a vigorous and a virtuous prince seldom failed of gaining over the people and a majority of their chiefs to his interest, as will be seen in the subsequent part of this history.

The nobles accepted of the king's offer, who was so well informed, that he laid before the assembly the names of the chief malefactors whom
he

he intended to bring to justice. The assembly, upon this, issued out orders for apprehending the criminals, who were punished according to their offences. We cannot, it is true, approve of the manner in which Kenneth proceeded in this affair; but he must be justified by the character of the times, and the necessity of the measure. He pacified his nobles, by magnificent presents, and his generous manner of treating them.

A great revolution, little attended to by Scotch historians, happened at this time in the affairs of North as well as South-Britain. The famous Edgar was then seated on the throne of England; who being sensible how necessary it was to keep up a large fleet for opposing the Danes, the constant enemies of the Anglo-Saxon kings, fitted out a greater number of ships for the safety of his country, than perhaps all Europe besides could put to sea. He knew, however, how ineffectual all his cares must prove, unless he could unite the king of the Scots, the prince of Cumberland, and all the petty princes of Wales, in one common principle of safety and defence, against those invaders. The English, as well as the Scotch historians, are silent as to the manner in which this great measure was carried into execution; but it is certain, that such a confederacy took place under Edgar; nor can we with any consistency imagine, that so wise and so politic a prince as

Ken-

A great revolution in England.

neth, was averſe to the union. The Engliſh writers have repreſented this confederacy as a ſubjection which Kenneth agreed to; but upon no other authorities than the idle tales of the monks, who have in a manner deified Edgar even for his crimes and vices. All that appears probable is, that Kenneth paid Edgar his proportion of expence for maintaining his fleet, and for guarding all the ſea-coaſts of Britain, which we are told he did, by dividing his ſhips into three ſquadrons. There is likewise ſome foundation for believing that Kenneth, attended by the prince of Cumberland, met Edgar at Cheſter; but the common ſtory, forged by the Engliſh monks, of Edgar's being rowed in his barge on the Dee, by his ſeven tributary kings (of whom Kenneth was one) could it even be proved, is inconcluſive as to its being a mark of Kenneth's ſubmiſſion. If eight princes, conſidering the manners of thoſe days, choſe to divert themſelves by rowing a barge on the river; and if Edgar, as being the moſt expert ſteerſman, ſat at the helm, what inference can be drawn from ſuch a frolic, to eſtabliſh the dependency of the crown of Scotland upon that of England? But, in fact, the whole of this ſtory may juſtly be conſidered as a monkish dream.

The ſub-
jection of
Scotland to
England
diſproved.

The truth is, that Kenneth cultivated a friendſhip with Edgar, as well as the Britiſh princes; and he had other reaſons for this conduct, beſides the protection of his coaſts, be-
cause

because he was now meditating a total alteration in the mode of succession to the throne. It is uncertain, whether the confederacy I have mentioned, happened before or after a dreadful invasion of the Danes in this reign. That circumstance, however, is of no great importance, because it is impossible for any number of ships, to prevent at all times a descent on the coasts of Britain. Those northern barbarians appeared off the eastern coasts of Angus, and landed at Montrose. Their original intention seems to have been to make a descent upon England, which, perhaps, they found too well guarded. The Danes, upon their landing, proceeded southwards, filling all the country thro' which they passed, with the most horrible ravages. Kenneth was then at Stirling, unprepared to resist the invaders. The exigency of affairs would only permit him to assemble a handful of men in haste, by whom he cut off the stragglers, and checked their plundering; but he could not prevent the barbarians from besieging Perth. By this time, the king had been joined by a considerable number of his subjects, and was encamped near the confluence of the Tay and the Earn. He advanced to raise the siege, and found his enemy possessed of the rising ground. A battle ensued, in which Kenneth exhibited signal proofs of his valour: he led the center of his army in person; Malcolm, prince of Cumberland, commanded the right

wing; and the thane of Athol the left. Previous to the engagement, the king promised, according to the Scotch authors, ten pounds in silver, or the value of it in land, for the head of every Dane which should be brought to him; and an immunity from all taxes to the soldiers who served in his army, if they should prove victorious. The truth of this fact, however, is very questionable, when we consider the innate hatred which had always subsisted between the Scots and the Danes, and the great difficulty Kenneth would have found in fulfilling his promises.

Battle of
Luncarty,
and rise of
the name
of Hay.

Whatever may be in those facts, it is certain the Danes fought so desperately, that the Scots, notwithstanding the noble example set them by their monarch in his own person, must have been totally routed, had they not been met by a yeoman and his two sons, of the name of Hay, who were coming up to the battle, armed with such rustic weapons as their condition in life afforded them. Partly by threats, and partly by calling out that help was at hand, the three brave countrymen stopt the Scots at a narrow pass, which they manned; and persuading them to rally, they led the troops once more against the enemy. The fight was now renewed with such fury on the part of the Scots, that the Danes were entirely defeated *. After the bat-

* That Hay and his two sons performed this service to their country, seems indisputable; but Buchanan, and the Scotch histo-

tle, the king rewarded Hay with the large barony of Errol, in the carse of Gowry, ennobled his family, and gave him an armorial bearing alluding to the agricultural weapons they used in their brave atchievement. Such was the rise of the illustrious family of Errol, whose descendant was high-constable of Scotland in the reign of Robert the first, and the descendant from him now claims the same honour. The Short Chronicle I have so frequently mentioned, speaks of Kenneth having fortified the banks of the Forth; by which we suppose is meant, that he guarded them against the Danish invasions. The same author likewise mentions his invad-

historians who follow him, as well as Boece, record it with circumstances so improbable, as to detract from the credibility of the action. They tell us, that this Hay and his two sons were ploughing in a field near the spot where the battle was fought; and that in loosing the yokes from their ploughs, they stopt the flight of their countrymen: Is it likely, that these brave, patriotic, able-bodied men, should employ themselves in the peaceful exercise of agriculture, while their country was embroiled in war, and when their king had invited all his subjects to join him? Other improbabilities occur in the usual manner of telling the story; so that I should have entirely omitted it, if the fact in general had not been attested by very ancient authorities. Upon the whole, the histories of other nations afford many examples of three or four resolute men changing the fate of a battle; nor is it uncommon even in modern times. This seems to have been the case of Hay and his two sons, disengaged from all improbable circumstances. Mr. Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 151. fancies that he discovered a monument of stone, near a place called Aberlemny in the county of Angus, with figures cut upon it expressive of this action. That the Scots of those days practised a rude sculpture, seems beyond all doubt; but the figures on the stones are too much defaced for us to pronounce any thing decisive as to their subject.

ing Britain, and his ravaging Saxony: by which perhaps we are to understand England, and carrying off a son of the Saxon king. History furnishes us with no light as to any of those incidents; but we have in the note subjoined the words of the Chronicle, in their present mutilated state *. It is certain, that the defeat of the Danes at Loncarty procured repose for Scotland, while they were over-running England, and even rendering it tributary.

It is greatly to be regretted, that the actions of this glorious reign are not attended by a chronology which can be depended on. Fordun places the accession of Kenneth to the crown in the year 970; and tells us, that Edgar, king of England, died in the sixth year of his reign, which agrees with the English computation and the Saxon Chronicle. We are likewise ignorant of the measures pursued by Kenneth, for altering the course of the succession, and diverting it into his own family; but we are certain that they occasioned great and general dissatisfaction throughout the kingdom. Malcolm, the son of Duff, was then prince of Cumberland, and consequently was considered as apparent heir to the crown.

* Cinadius (meaning Kenneth) fil. Maelcolami regn. an statim prædavit Britanniam ex parte pedestres, Cinadi occisi sunt maxima cæde in moni cacornax (sic) & ad Staugna (sic) de rain. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Primo anno perexit Cinadius, & prædavit Saxoniam, & traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne domino.

The English historians have not informed us how far the king of England was concerned in this alteration: but undoubtedly he had a right to be consulted; because, by the original cession of Cumberland, he was a kind of guarantee for that prince's succeeding to the crown of Scotland. We learn from Fordun, that in a convention of the states it was agreed, that the king's eldest son or daughter, tho' only a year old, should inherit the crown; and that Malcolm, the son of Duff, being dead, Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, swore allegiance to Etheldred, king of England, for Cumberland.

The succession altered,

There is some reason for suspecting that Kenneth had purchased the acquiescence of his great lords to this statute, by granting them exorbitant estates, which rendered them in a manner independent on the crown. Be this as it may, we have the strongest grounds to conclude, that during all the subsequent reign of this prince, the bulk of the Scotch nation was far from being reconciled to the alteration of the mode of succession. Tumults and insurrections happened in various parts of the country, particularly in Ross-shire; and dangerous conspiracies were formed against the king's life. Kenneth suppressed and punished the insurgents, though he could not the conspirators.

In the mean time a scene of the most horrid nature was acted, which is related by Buchanan and the Scotch historians as follows:

Two

Tragical incident.

Boetius,
Buchanan.

Two powerful noblemen, Cruethnet (or as he is called by Fordun, Cruchne) and his grandson Crathilinth, by his daughter Fenella, were in possession of the counties of Angus and Mearns. The latter visiting the former at his castle of Delbogyn, with a large retinue, the servants of the two noblemen quarrelled, and two of Crathilinth's followers were killed; of which he complained to his mother when he returned home. Instead of appeasing him, she prompted him to revenge; and he accordingly returned with a numerous attendance to Delbogyn, where, being admitted, he murdered his grandfather, with all his family; plundered the castle; and returned in triumph to his mother at Fettercairn. The people of Angus made reprisals on the estates of Crathilinth; and Kenneth was obliged to interpose, by summoning all parties to appear before him at Scone in fifteen days. Crathilinth, however, instead of obeying the summons, retired with his followers to Lochaber; whither the king pursuing him, brought him prisoner to Dunfinane, and afterwards put him to death.

Remark.

Though I have related this story as I find it in Boece and Buchanan, with all its shocking circumstances, yet a strong suspicion of its authenticity arises from the silence of Fordun, who only says, "that Fenella conspired the death of the king out of resentment for that of her son, who had by the severity of the law, or

by

by some other event he cannot account for, lost his life at Dunfinane a long time before." In short, from the manner of Fordun's relation, I am inclined to think the whole narrative of the above affassination fabulous ; and that Crathilinth was put to death for a conspiracy on account of the succession. It is most probable, therefore, that the death of Malcolm Duff, prince of Cumberland, renewed the practices of the conspirators.

Boece, Buchanan, and other Scotch historians, without the least authority from Fordun, or any ancient writer, have wantonly murdered the reputation of Kenneth by supposing that he procured the death of Malcolm Duff (who bears an excellent character in history) by poison, to make way for his own son, Malcolm, to succeed him. The atrocity of the fact, the character of Kenneth, the silence of Fordun, and the improbability of poisoning being then practised in Scotland, concur in disproving the authenticity of this charge. It is universally allowed, that Kenneth expressed the most poignant sorrow for Malcolm's death ; that he honoured him with a noble burial ; and that, when it happened, he was not even suspected. Boece and Buchanan, to give their relation the better appearance of consistency, pretend it was not till after the death of Malcolm Duff, that Kenneth declared himself on the subject of the succession ; but there is great reason, from the

Death of
Malcolm
Duff.

words

words of Fordun, to think, that the measure had been agreed upon some years before. The last-mentioned writer likewise tells us, that a few of the sticklers for the old mode dissented from the statute; and that upon the death of Malcolm Duff, the king sent his own son to the English court, where he took the oath of fealty to king Etheldred for his principality. It is no wonder, if the influence and power of the competitors for the succession, after the death of Malcolm Duff, strengthened the conspiracy already formed against Kenneth; and that he should be loaded with the imputation of having poisoned Malcolm. At the head of this conspiracy was Constantine, the son of Culen, and Grime, the son of Mogal, brother to king Duff; both of them powerful rivals to young Malcolm, but excluded by the late statute from all hopes of the succession, which enacted, "That the king's eldest son, for the future, should always succeed to his father, whatever his age should be: likewise, if the son died before the father, that the next of kin should succeed the grandfather. That, when the king was under age, a tutor or protector should be chosen, being some eminent man for interest and power, to govern in name and place of the king, till he came to be fourteen years of age; and then he had liberty to choose guardians for himself." The order of succession in private families, is said to have been altered at the same time in many particulars. Bucha-

Buchanan, tho' the the profest enemy of monkish miracles and revelations, indulges so much spite at this father of hereditary succession to the crown of Scotland, that Kenneth is haunted not only with remorse, but with apparitions; and at last, a voice from Heaven advises him to repentance, and warns him of the dreadful consequences of his altering the succession. Such an intelligent writer as Buchanan never could have admitted such legendary tales, in his history, of a king whom he acknowledges to have been, in other respects, the best and most accomplished of princes, had he not been influenced by the most unjustifiable prepossessions. It is true, that Kenneth, upon seeing the formidable opposition his favourite measure was likely to encounter, might take a serious turn; and very possibly, in order to attach the clergy more firmly to his interests, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Palladius, in the Merns, the most venerable at that time in Scotland. Tho' Fordun takes no notice of such a pilgrimage, yet he says, that Fenella, whom we have already mentioned, confederated with Constantine, the son of king Culen, and Grime, the grandson of king Duff, to murder the king. Fenella, with great art, insinuated herself into Kenneth's favour, as he was hunting one day near her house, by acknowledging the justice of her son's death, and pretending, that if he would favour her with a visit, she would reveal to him the

Credulity of
Buchanan.

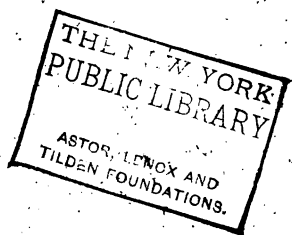
particulars of all the conspiracies formed against him. The king, prevailed upon by her pressing intreaties, at last accepted of the invitation; and while he was admiring a curious brass statue, was shot through the heart by an arrow, discharged by means of wheels and pulleys from the image; which instantly killed him. Buchanan disbelieves Boece and Major in this relation, without observing that they copied it from Fordun. Perhaps Kenneth might be considering a statue (for religious statues were common in those days) when he was murdered by the conspirators; though Winton, a more ancient historian than Boece, without mentioning the statue, says, that Kenneth was slain by some horsemen, placed in ambush, at the command of Fenella. Buchanan, I believe very justly, with Fordun, fixes this monarch's death to the year 994.

Death of
Kenneth.

Story of
Kenneth
and Edgar.

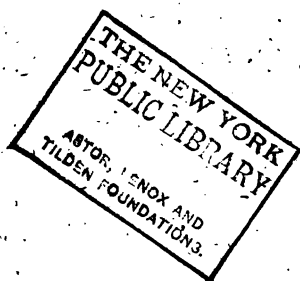
Before we close our account of the reign of this great prince, we shall mention the story of an interview between him and Edgar, king of England, which, though related by the English historians to his discredit, reflects the highest honour on his character. Happening one day to be a little elevated with liquor (this must have been in the beginning of his reign, when he was a young man) in the company of some English noblemen, he reproached them for suffering themselves to be governed by a prince of such a diminutive stature as Edgar. This con-

ver-





CONSTANTINE IV.





CONSTANTINE III.

versation reaching that monarch's ear, on pretence of business he drew Kenneth into a solitary part of a wood, where producing two swords, he desired Kenneth to take his choice, and give him satisfaction for the insult he had offered. Kenneth, however, declined the combat, and apologized to Edgar for the affront, which he said had been occasioned by intoxication. Edgar immediately forgave him, and they parted good friends. Allowing this story to be true, it affords a strong presumption against the pretended vassalage of Kenneth to Edgar, who seems to have treated him as a sovereign prince; and the Scottish king must have been in the last state of intoxication if he reproached others with a meanness to which he himself was obliged to submit.

The strength of the confederacy against Kenneth soon appeared. His attendants, tired out with waiting near Fenella's castle, at length broke open the doors, and found their king murdered; but Fenella escaped by a postern, and joined the conspirators: upon which Kenneth's attendants laid the place in ashes, and carried the royal body to be buried at Icolm-kill. It does not certainly appear, that prince Malcolm was in Scotland at the time of his father's death; because Fordun says, that Constantine the Bald mounted the throne the very next day, and was crowned. Later historians pretend, that Malcolm was interring his father

Constantine
the Bald.

when this happened. Buchanan speaks of the great art Constantine employed to obtain the crown ; and puts into his mouth the very arguments he himself has urged in other parts of his works against hereditary succession. Upon hearing of Constantine's usurpation, Malcolm raised an army and invaded Scotland ; but finding his competitor at the head of one more powerful, he was compelled to retire to Cumberland, where he remained on the defensive. In his absence, Malcolm was well served by his natural uncle Kenneth, who, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of the strong pass at Stirling, and prevented Constantine from pursuing his brother. Both armies lay, without either venturing to attack the other, till many of Constantine's soldiers perished for want of provisions, and he was at last obliged to disband his troops. In the mean time, the miseries which England suffered under the Danes, who were ravaging Northumberland, had obliged Malcolm to take the field ; and Constantine embraced that opportunity to invade Lothian, which Malcolm, at this time, undoubtedly held under the crown of England, though by what tenure is very uncertain. Constantine was opposed by Kenneth the Bastard, who encountered him at Cramond, where, tho' inferior in number, he made such an excellent disposition of his troops, that he defeated Constantine's army ; but happening to engage him hand to hand, both princes were killed.

The remains of Constantine's army which escaped from the battle joined Grime, whom we have mentioned to be the grandson of king Duff, and whom Fordun calls Constantine's colleague; by which, I suppose, he means his apparent heir. As Constantine reigned a year and a half, this must have happened in the year 996, when it is certain that Grime was crowned at Scone. Upon his elevation to the throne, Grime affected great moderation, distributing his favours equally to all parties, and even to the known friends of Malcolm: it is likewise probable, that he would have left Malcolm in quiet possession of all he held on the south of the Forth. Fordun and the old historians draw a most dreadful picture of the miseries of Scotland, after the death of Kenneth, for nine years; for Malcolm appears to have had a number of friends in the kingdom, though the affections of the people inclined to his competitor, who resembled his father in his resolution and genius. Finding Grime's interest far superior to his own, Malcolm employed secret emissaries, who detached a number of the king's friends from his party, which Grime perceiving, had again recourse to arms. Malcolm likewise raised troops, under pretence that Grime had imprisoned his servants; but his party was so disunited and intimidated, that his preparations proved ineffectual; and he once more left Grime in possession of the field and the throne. As

Grime.

His wars
with Mal-
colm.

Malcolm

Malcolm was preparing for a fresh invasion, a good bishop, one Fochad, offered his mediation between the two parties; which being accepted of, the following conditions were agreed to : That Grime should retain the name of king as long as he lived, and that, after Malcolm's death, the whole kingdom should return to him ; but that for the future, the law of Kenneth, for establishing the succession in the last king's children, should be observed as sacred and inviolable. In the mean time, the wall of Severus was to be the boundary of their dominions : that which was north of the wall, was to belong to Grime ; and that south of the wall, to Malcolm.

I do not hazard a great deal in saying, that by this peace, the Scots in general were again subjected to the power of their rapacious and oppressive nobles, whom Grime, perhaps, was obliged to support ; and is therefore called a tyrant, though possessing all the accomplishments in body and mind of a great prince. Malcolm and his party continued quiet for eight years, according to Buchanan ; but the oppressions of Grime's government becoming at last insupportable, the Scots looked up to Malcolm as their deliverer. Fordun gives us another idea of this reign. He represents the eight years peace as being pregnant with the most terrible calamities to the people ; and the most descriptive part of his history is the character he gives of
of

of prince Malcolm. "The people (says he) were much better pleased with the actions of Malcolm than of Grime; for there was scarcely a man in the kingdom who could equal Malcolm in the exercises of the field, either in his wars or his amusements. Our Historical Annals* represent him as skilful in the management of the sword and the lance; and of his bearing to a miracle, hunger, thirst, cold, and the longest watching. He cautiously guarded himself against all surprizes from Grime, by frequently moving from one part of the country to another; and by gaining upon the affections of many of the nobles, he privately bound them to his interest by oaths of fidelity. His great strength, and the beauty of his person, became the universal theme of applause and praise, till at last the public voice pointed him out as the most worthy of the kingdom. Malcolm being thus conscious of his popularity, by advice of the chieftains of his party, sent frequent messages to Grime, desiring him to take his choice, either to abdicate the crown of Scotland, which he and his predecessor had usurped, or to fight for it in a pitched battle, or to dispute it at single combat, by putting themselves upon the just judgment of God†. Grime

Character of
Malcolm.

* The original is *ANNALES HISTORIÆ*. This is a proof that Fordun had historical registers, which he consulted in writing his history, though they are now destroyed, or not to be met with.

† Orig. "Justo Dei judicio." This is a feudal expression, and very common with the English historians when they mention an appeal to, and an award of, single combat.

with great indignation, thinking it impossible to withstand his power, put himself at the head of such of his subjects as he could trust, and took the field. He was opposed by Malcolm with a small, but choice body; and both armies met in a commodious field, at Achnebaird, where a most bloody battle was fought. Grime behaved with the greatest courage and resolution; but being mortally wounded, he was carried out of the field by his followers, and died the same night. His troops immediately retreated, and left Malcolm in possession of the crown and a complete victory. Next day, the news of the king's death being confirmed, Malcolm ordered his followers to rest assured of his protection, and to give his body burial at Icolm-kill."

His competitor defeated.

Such is the manner in which our honest old historian represents this event, one of the most considerable that can happen in the history of any nation; because it introduced a total alteration, not only in the succession, but in the modes of property. Boece and Buchanan, as usual, take pleasure in representing Grime, after he became sole possessor of the crown by the peace, as a most abandoned tyrant. It requires a more minute disquisition than I can here enter into, to decide upon the justice of his pretensions, and that of Malcolm; but I think they were very fully and very candidly acknowledged by Malcolm, when he not only allowed

lowed his body to be buried with his ancestors, but pardoned all who had been in arms under him. Admitting that Malcolm's father had obtained a majority, and even a great majority of the nobles, to pass the statute for making the crown hereditary in his family, the question is, Whether the princes of the blood, who were thereby shut out from their former and constitutional right of succession, thought that the assembly had a legal power of establishing such a pragmatic, and of altering the fundamentals of government?

I have already observed, that Malcolm was in England at the time of his father's murder; nor can I see any foundation for the assertion of those historians who say, that he was at that time crowned king. Such an opinion is against the evidence of history; but it is indispensable for me to take a view of his conduct, when he resided in Cumberland, particularly during the year 999:

Malcolm,
king.

At that time, the Danes, not contented with obliging Etheldred, king of England, to pay them tribute, oppressed his subjects with barbarities unknown even to savage nations. Etheldred was a prince of a most unequal spirit and conduct; and calling together his council, he required Malcolm, as his tributary, to assist him with money, to defray the arrears due to the Danes. Malcolm answered, with a

His history
when prince

spirit above the common understanding of the princes of those times, that, by his oath of fealty, he was obliged to no other service but that of the field in person, where he was always ready to appear. He told Etheldred, at the same time, with the indignation of the Roman dictator, that it was more glorious to deliver his country from slavery by steel than by gold. Etheldred was dissatisfied with this answer; and accused Malcolm of not only having violated his oath of fidelity, but of favouring the Danes; and he invaded the principality of Cumberland with great fury. An accommodation, however, was soon concluded between them; and it is probable, that Malcolm inspired Etheldred with the resolution of expelling the Danes out of his kingdom. This scheme was well laid, and we have from history no reason to doubt, that Malcolm took the field to assist in carrying it into execution. It was, however, defeated, by the equinoctial storms, which dispersed Etheldred's fleet. Simeon of Durham, an English historian, informs us, that this year Malcolm, king of the Scots, wasted Northumberland with a great army; and that he was defeated by Uthred, son to the earl of Northumberland, who planted Durham round with the heads of Scotchmen which were best furnished with hair; and gave an old woman a cow for washing them. The relation
of

A. D. 999.

of the last-mentioned ludicrous circumstance is plainly owing to the author's dislike of the Scots; neither is it material whether it was true or not. The historian, however, is mistaken in attributing this invasion to Malcolm; for he was then only prince of Cumberland, nor does even Fordun give him any other epithet till after the battle of Achnebard. The defeat therefore, here mentioned, must have been given to Grime in one of his English expeditions against Malcolm, though it is omitted by the Scottish historians.

Mistake of
an English
historian.

According to the best chronology, Malcolm mounted the throne of Scotland in 1004. The manner of his accession, as mentioned by Fordun, plainly evinces that he never before had taken the title of king. After Malcolm (says he) had obtained the victory, he did not immediately assume the royal title; but calling together his nobility, he humbly besought them, if it could be done agreeably to law, to give him the crown; which they, in consequence of the law made in his father's time, and acknowledged by them as valid, immediately did, by investing him with the diadem. Before we can proceed in the history of this prince, it is necessary to connect it with that of the Danes of England. About the year 995, Anlaf, a Norwegian chief, and Swen, a Dane, called by some Swegen, made a descent upon England. Anlaf was converted to Christianity, and Swen

Manner of
Malcolm's
accession.

probably returned to his own country, by which the kingdom of England enjoyed some years of repose. Swen, having deprived his own father of his crown and life, was himself expelled out of Denmark; but after wandering about a fugitive from court to court, the king of Scotland gave him shelter, and by his assistance Swen remounted the throne of Denmark. That Swen took refuge in Scotland is certain, from the testimony of Adam Bremensis, and other northern historians; but it is surprizing that an event so glorious for Scotland, as that of restoring a king to his crown, is not commemorated in her annals, especially as, after his restoration, he resettled the Christian religion, from which he had been an apostate, both in Denmark and Norway; which latter fell to him by succession. Some writers pretend, that the Scotland mentioned by the northern historians was Ireland: but, upon the whole, there is reason to believe, that he did reside for some time in the British Scotland. About the year 1002, Etheldred was obliged to renew his negociations with the Danes, and by the assistance of the excellent Gunhilda, sister to Swen, and who is said to have lived for some time with her brother in Scotland, a peace was concluded, Gunhilda, who was married to Paleg, an English nobleman, becoming hostage for the good faith of her countrymen.

A peace.

The

This peace served only to render the Danes more haughty and cruel, if possible, than ever; and Etheldred, at last, came to a resolution to massacre all who were found in his dominions, which was executed with circumstances of barbarity foreign to this history. Among the rest of the victims was Gunhilda, who suffered with a magnanimity that did honour to her sex. The news of this massacre having reached Swen, he was so exasperated that he sent over a new fleet, and an army. Being joined by the Danes still remaining in the north of England, which seems to have been exempted from the late massacre, all England, and even Malcolm's possessions in the south of Scotland, was again filled with devastation. We do not, however, find that Swen was at this time in Britain; but the assistance which Malcolm had given to Etheldred was a sufficient motive for the invasion. We are told that Ochred was at the head of the Danish army here, but that he was defeated near the village of Brough in Cumberland, by Malcolm, and stripped of all his plunder. Swen afterwards arrived in England; but, at this time, the Danes, by their prosperity, had plunged themselves into such excesses, that nothing but his presence could have restored them to order and discipline; and had not Etheldred been sunk in luxury and indolence, or been surrounded and misled by traitors, who secretly favoured the Danes, he might before

Massacre of
the Danes.

before Swen's second arrival, which happened so late as the year 1013, have abolished their dominion in England. Ochred was himself a Dane, but in a manner independent both upon Etheldred and Swen. The latter was so well satisfied with his conduct, that he left him in quiet possession of his principality; and for some time Cumberland enjoyed repose.

Malcolm seems now to have been advanced in years. He had no issue to succeed him, except a grandson by his daughter Beatrix, who was married to a great nobleman, whom Fordun calls the abthane, or chief thane of Dul, which I suppose to be a corruption of the word Thule; and that he was predecessor to those lords of the Isles who afterwards grew so powerful. This grandson's name was Duncan, and Malcolm naturally conferred upon him the principality of Cumberland. Whether Duncan performed homage to Etheldred for this principality, does not clearly appear; though it is certain, that Malcolm was himself punctual in performing all his engagements with the crown of England. This seems to have exasperated Swen, who aspired to Etheldred's throne; for I find, that the Danes renewed their invasions into Cumberland, and made several descents on the coasts of Scotland, but still with loss: for Fordun says, that Malcolm gave them three several defeats; and by the constant successes of his arms, he acquired the title of The Most Victo-

Victorious King, which (continues he) is given him in all the writings wherein he is mentioned.

The fidelity of Malcolm to the English proved so invincible an obstacle to Swen's ambition, that he resolved to attack him in the very vitals of his own dominions; and suspending for some time his operations in England, he fitted out a great armament, composed of Danish and Norwegian ships, which landed a considerable body of troops on the coast of Scotland, where they were surprised by Malcolm, who cut in pieces all of them except a few who escaped to their ships, with the loss only of thirty of his own soldiers*. This gave some respite to Scotland; but in the mean time, the English and Danes, in conjunction, invaded Cumberland. There is here reason to believe, from the words of Fordun, that Duncan had not performed his homage to Etheldred; because (says he) all the intermediate space between him and the English court was possessed by the Danes, who carried their booty twenty miles over land to their ships. Be this as it may, it is certain, that Malcolm joined his grandson, and the Danes were again defeated. The incredible populousness of the northern kingdoms, in those times, together with the successes of their inhabitants in England, never suffered Swen to be without resources of shipping and men. He accordingly

Scotland invaded by the Danes;

* I am not certain, whether this action ought to be mentioned here, because Fordun says, that it happened a very few days after Malcolm's coronation.

gave orders to two of his general officers, who in history are called Ocan the Norwegian, and Eneth the Dane, to make a descent with a powerful fleet and army, at the mouth of the Spey. This formidable invasion had not been foreseen by Malcolm; but he easily conceived that it was meant as a prelude to the entire conquest of his dominions. The spot where the barbarians landed was the inlet to the county of Murray, the best province of his dominions, and from whence they could penetrate into the Highlands. He assembled in haste a small army, to prevent the ravages of the Danes, who had taken several forts in the neighbourhood, and had laid siege to the castle of Nairn, then a place of considerable strength. Malcolm, notwithstanding the disproportion of his numbers to those of the Danes, advanced to fight them; and made a speech to animate his men, who were already highly exasperated by the scenes of blood and devastation that every where surrounded them. Their impatience for revenge was such, that they neglected all discipline, and advanced with so blind a fury, that they were cut in pieces by the barbarians; the brave Malcolm being carried out of the field desperately wounded in the head.

who are at
first victo-
rious,

This victory over a handful of undisciplined men, encouraged the Danes so much, that, not questioning they should soon be able to conquer all Scotland, they sent for their wives
and

and children. The castle of Nairn fell into their hands, and the garrison was put to the sword, contrary to the capitulation. As this castle was thought impregnable, and was excellently well provided for a long and vigorous defence, the garrisons and inhabitants of Elgin and Forreß abandoned both places; and the Danes treated the inhabitants in every respect as a conquered people. They obliged them to cut down the corn for their use; and to render the castle of Nairn (as they thought) absolutely impregnable, they cut through the small isthmus which joined it to the land.

Malcolm was all this time raising forces in Mar, and the southern counties. Having at last got together an army, he advanced to dispossess the Danes of their late conquests. He came up with them at Murtloch, near the castle of Balveny, which appears, to this day, to have been a strong Danish fortification. There Malcolm attacked them, but with such bad success, that he lost three of his general officers; Kenneth, thane of the Isles, Grime, thane of Strathern, and Dunbar, the thane of Lothian. Discouraged by this loss, the Scots retreated; but Malcolm took possession of a defile, where he checked the pursuit of the barbarians, and the Danish general was killed. His death damped the ardour of his men, but infused fresh courage into the Scots; and Malcolm, in his turn, charged his enemies with such fury, that he obtained a complete vic-

lut are dea
feated.

tory; while Olan, the other Danish general, was obliged to withdraw with the remains of his army to Murray, where he took up his winter-quarters.

It seems probable that the Scots, by not pursuing their victory, had suffered greatly in the battle. Perhaps the danger of another invasion rendered them cautious; for we are told, that Malcolm immediately marched his army to Angus. Some of the Scotch historians say, that Malcolm killed the Danish chief with his own hand; but all agree, that this victory at Murtloch (where he afterwards founded a bishopric) was owing to his personal valour.

A new invasion.

The news of the defeat of the Danes in Scotland was so far from discouraging Swen, that he gave orders for a fresh descent to be made by two fleets, one from England, and the other from Norway, under the command of Camus, one of his most renowned generals. His army was composed of veterans, and the descent was to be made at the mouth of the Forth. All the places there were so well fortified, that he found a landing was impracticable; but he effected it at Redhead, in the county of Angus. He immediately marched to Brechin, where he besieged the castle; but not being able to take it, he laid the town and the church in ashes. From thence he advanced to the village of Panbride, and encamped, as there is reason to believe, at a place called Karboddo. By this time, Malcolm

Malcolm was at hand with his army, and encamped at a place called Barr; and both sides prepared for a battle, which was to determine the fate of Scotland; for it is more than probable, that the Danes then remained in full possession of the county of Murray, and some of the neighbouring provinces. The reader may easily conceive the arguments made use of by the generals of both armies. According to the history of the ancient family of Keith, a young prince who commanded the Catti (a German clan which had been some time settled in the province of Caithness, which takes its name from them) served that day as a feodary in Malcolm's army, and bore a great share in the battle, which was desperate and bloody on both sides. Camus was at the head of the troops which had conquered England; but those under Malcolm were fighting for all that could be dear to a brave people. The slaughter was such that the neighbouring brook of Loch-Tay is said to have run with blood. At last, victory declared herself in favour of the Scots, and the Danes were put to flight: they were pursued by young Keith, who overtook Camus, and killed him with his own hand. Another Scotch officer coming up, disputed with Keith the glory of this action; and while the contest lasted, Malcolm arrived in person. The case was such, that it could be decided only by single combat; in which Keith proving victorious, his antago-

The Danes
defeated.

nist confessed the truth ; and Malcolm dipping his fingers in the wounds of the expiring person, marked the shield of Keith with three bloody strokes, and pronouncing the words *Veritas vincit*, or " Truth overcomes," the same has ever since been the armorial bearing and motto of his descendants.

The Danes
again de-
feated.

Though I have related this battle according to what I find in the Scotch historians, yet I am strongly inclined to believe, that two battles were fought at a short distance from each other ; and that the last, which proved decisive, was at Aberlemno, within four miles of Brechin, where the Danes were totally defeated. Few actions of such antiquity are better attested than these. Even the Little Chronicle mentions Malcolm's great war at Barr ; and two stones, which are still to be seen, with other monuments erected at the time (an account of which the reader will find in the notes *) are rude,

* " Buchanan makes mention of an old obelisk erected on that ground, in memory of the said battle. This monument I viewed ; it is intire, and to this day, called *Camus's-Cross* ; but upon sight thereof, I could gather little from the figures thereupon towards an illustration of the aforesaid action ; most of them seeming rather emblems of devotion than victory. We are nevertheless assured, by uncontested tradition, that this cross was erected on occasion of *Camus's* death near that place.

" This stone is divided on each side into three compartments ; on the highest of which is a representation of our Saviour upon the cross, but done in a very rude manner ; on the right hand is the figure of a man ; the other, on the left, being intirely defaced : within the second division is a *Sagittarius* ; the upper part of which resembles a man, with a bow in his hand ; the lower part

rude, though noble and authentic monuments of Malcolm's two victories. One of those monuments,

part a four-footed beast; and this is also done with a very Gothic and barbarous taste. In the third division are only some waved ornaments; the whole is in low relievo. On the reverse side, within the first compartment, is another representation of our Saviour, with the angels administering to him. The second and third compartments contain four other figures, which may probably represent the four evangelists.

" Commissary Maul, whom we have had occasion to mention before, in his MS. History of Scotland, gives an account of the figures upon this stone, as he observed them above one hundred and twenty years ago, with other curious circumstances of antiquity, which I here present, translated verbatim from his own original Latin. " About eight miles from Brechen, at Karboddo, a place belonging to the earl of Crawford, are to be seen the vestiges of a Danish camp, fortified with a rampart and ditch, and vulgarly called Norway Dikes; near which is the village of Panbride, where was anciently a church dedicated to St. Brigide, because on that saint's day, which preceded the battle, Camus, general of the Danes, pitched his camp there. Not far from hence is the village of Barrey, where a mighty battle was fought between the Danes and Scots, with great slaughter on both sides, near the mouth of a small rivulet called Lough-Tay. There many little artificial mounts, or tumuli, are still to be seen, within which were buried the bodies of those slain in the fight; and because the soil thereabouts is sandy, the wind blowing away the sand, frequently discovers bones of a size much exceeding men in our age. Near this is Camus-Town, a village belonging to the barons of Panmure, and noted for the death of Camus, slain there, it being only a mile from the field of battle: there, to this day, is to be seen an obelisk, whereon little is engraven to evince the truth thereof; for, upon the east-side is the figure of Moses [if I mistake not] giving out the law, engraven in three divisions; and on the side towards the west, upon the upper part, is the effigies of our Saviour on the cross; below which is the representation of a horseman shooting with a cross-bow: this is all I could observe at that time; but nine years after I wrote that treatise, a plough turning up the ground, near this obelisk, discovered a large sepulchre, believed to be that of Camus, enclosed with four great stones. Here a huge skeleton was dug up, supposed to have been the body of Camus; it appeared

THE HISTORY

numents, which is called Camus-Crofs, I conjecture to have been erected by the piety of Malcolm, to propitiate for the foul of the Dane, who perhaps was a heathen; and to exprefs the triumph of Chriftianity over Paganifm. The figures on the other, at Aberlemno, are plainly warlike and triumphal.

The broken remains of the Danifh army reached their fhips; but meeting with crofs-winds, and being deftitute of provifions, they put five hundred men on fhore on the coaft of Buchan, to range the country for food. They were difcovered by Mernan, the thane of Buchan, who cut off their communication with their fhips, and forced them to retire to a hill, where they fortified themfelves as well as they could with large ftones. The Scots feveral times attempted to diflodge them; but being repulfed with fome lofs, they were reinforced with numbers, and mounted the hill with fo much refolution, that they broke into the Danifh entrenchment, and put every man of them to

peared to have received its death by a wound on the back part of the head, feeing a confiderable part of the skull was cut away, and probably, by the ftroke of a fword."

"I the rather chofe to give this gentleman's defcription, for that he not only viewed the figures one hundred and twenty years ago; but alfo, becaufe he mentions other circumftances of antiquity, extremely curious and entertaining; and, indeed, he had a good opportunity of examining thefe monuments of the Danes, feeing a confiderable number of them are on the ground belonging to the earl of Panmure, of which illuftrious family he was a fon." Vide Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 154.

the sword. The place where this massacre happened is still called Crudane, which I take to be an abbreviation of Cruor Danorum, the appellation given it by the ecclesiastics or monks of those days.

The care of the Scots in erecting monuments of their glorious victories over the Danes in their own country cannot be sufficiently commended, as they scarcely are mentioned by the English historians. From them, however, we learn, that Swen sent his son Canute, one of the greatest warriors of the age, afterwards king of England, and surnamed the Great, with an army more powerful than any of the former, to invade Scotland, where the Danish fleet, after the slaughter at Crudane, had reached Murray. Even this formidable invasion did not daunt the Scots, who seem by this time to have become excellent troops. Either by design or accident, Canute landed at Buchan; a circumstance which, together with the remains of Danish encampments in that country, inclines me to believe, that they had still a footing there. The Scots may be reasonably supposed to have been, by this time, considerably weakened by their repeated invasions; and for that reason, as well as on account of Canute's reputation in war, Malcolm determined to act upon the defensive, by harassing his enemies, and cutting off their convoys. The Scots, who now thought themselves invincible, did not re-

lish

Historical
monuments
in Scotland.

A peace.

lish that skirmishing method of fighting, and called aloud for a general engagement. Malcolm complied with their ardour, and a bloody battle was fought, which, as the Scotch historians say, afforded no matter of triumph to either side. I can by no means be of that opinion, because it produced a peace which gave Malcolm all that he could have expected from a victory. The terms concluded between him and Canute were, That the Danes should depart and leave Murray and Buchan; and that as long as Malcolm and Swen lived, neither of them should wage war with the other, nor help one another's enemies: that the field in which the battle was fought, should be set a-part, and consecrated for the burial of the dead. Those terms prove the Scots to have been far from barbarous when they were concluded; and that the Danes, as well as Canute, had been converted to Christianity. The stipulations were punctually fulfilled by Malcolm, who built in the neighbourhood a chapel, dedicated to Olaus, the tutelar saint of those northern nations. It is remarkable, that since the commencement of the present age, human bones of an uncommon magnitude have been discovered, or dug up, near all the places of battle between the Scots and the Danes: a circumstance which affords some countenance to those who alledge, that the latter were, in those days, of an unusual size. The same remark was made by Boece.

When

Malcolm
legislator of
Scotland.

When the history of Malcolm is duly attended to, he well deserves the name of the Legislator of Scotland; and he was, perhaps, the greatest prince who ever sat upon that throne, not even excepting the first Bruce. Having with wonderful courage and perseverance cleared his dominions of their barbarous invaders, he applied himself to the arts of peace; and we shall, in the Ecclesiastical History, take notice of the great things he did for the church. Lawyers and antiquaries are divided with regard to the antiquity of the feudal law in Scotland; and some have gone so far as to say, that it was unknown even in England before the time of the Norman Conquest. As I am extremely clear that the constituent parts of the feudal law were known not only to the Saxons, but to the Danes, and other northern nations, I can see no reason for supposing it to have been unknown to Malcolm and his people; and I am of opinion with those lawyers who think that it was imported thither by Fergus, commonly called the second. But whether the *Regiam Majestatem* of Scotland (so called from its first two words) which contains the code of the ancient Scotch law, was borrowed from the English, is a question that belongs more properly to a lawyer than a historian. That it is of great and undoubted antiquity, is not disputed by any; and that it is not later than the time of king David the

first or second : so that it is at least a record of the highest authority. It was published by the learned Skene, who was the greatest antiquary in those matters that Scotland ever produced, and approved of by parliament in the reign of James the third. Prefixed to it are the laws of king Malcolm, approved of by the same authority ; and in the first chapter of those laws, which treats of ward and relief, we read as follows :
 “ King Malcome gave and distributed all his lands of the realm of Scotland amongst his men ; and reserved nathing in propertive to himselve, bot the royall dignitie, and the Mute-hill of Scone ; and all his barons gave and granted to him, the warde and relief of the heir of Ilk-Baron, quhen he should happen to deceis, for the king’s sustentation.”

His gift examined.

The Scotch historians have blamed Malcolm for this liberality ; and some have imagined that before this time the king held all the lands in Scotland in fee. It is easy to prove, from the English history, that the Saxon holdings in England by the thanes were strictly feudal ; and as the word Thane occurs in the Scotch history, at the same time, there can be no reason for doubting that the same constitution prevailed there. A thane sometimes had a grant of lands for a certain term, at the expiration of which it might be renewed by the king ; sometimes he held it for life, and at his death, the king might continue it to his son : so that, in one sense,

ſenſe, during a long reign, the greateſt part of the lands in the kingdom might laſe to the crown. About the time we now treat of, the feudal conſtitutions began to favour hereditary right, and property to be more fixed in families; nor was there any wonder if a prince, who, like Malcolm, had been ſo well ſerved by his ſubjects, gave them a perpetual right to the lands which they had held ſo precariouſly before: but it is abſurd and againſt every evidence of hiſtory to think, that the king did not reſerve his demefne lands, which were to ſupport his family and houſhold; and that he had no other ſuſtenation than wardſhips and reliefs. We meet with charters of large grants made, after this ceſſion, by Malcolm and his ſucceſſors. Upon the whole, the law publiſhed by Skene and here repeated, muſt either be ſpurious, or imply the meaning I have given it. As to the reſervation of the Mute-hill, it was perhaps, a form which aroſe from cuſtoms that cannot now be accounted for.

It was not long before Malcolm was again involved in difficulties, on account of the principality of Cumberland. Canute, after his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, required Duncan to pay him homage; and ſent him repeated ſummonſes for that purpoſe, which Duncan as often reſuſed to obey, on pretence that his homage was due not to the Daniſh, but the Saxon kings of England. Canute having then taken a reli-

gious turn, was preparing to pay a visit to Rome, and had not leisure to enforce his orders. Upon his return, in the year 1032, he renewed his demand, which being again neglected to be complied with, he sent an army into Cumberland; but, according to Fordun, he headed it himself. Malcolm marched to his grandson's support with another army; and when both parties were preparing for battle, certain prelates and worthy men interposed: so that a peace was concluded by Malcolm's agreeing that Duncan, and all his successors in the principality of Cumberland, should pay homage to the kings of England.

His death.

This seems to have been the last military expedition of Malcolm. The remaining part of his reign was tranquil, and employed in civil institutions; part of which, Buchanan very truly says, was copied from his neighbours, meaning the Danes and Saxons. The same historian absurdly blames him for annexing new titles to certain magistracies, by which he means his encreasing the subordinate degrees of authority: an unpardonable fault in the eyes of that author. Fordun acquaints us that, notwithstanding all his glorious actions, the factions which had been left by the two last kings still subsisted, and secretly conspired his death, though he had heaped upon them all manner of obligations. They took the opportunity of way-laying him, as he was on his journey

ney to Glamis, and murdered him, after a brave resistance. More modern authors with great shew of probability say, that his own domestics were privy to the assassination, and fled along with the conspirators; but in passing the lake of Forfar on the ice, it gave way under their weight, and all of them being drowned, their bodies were discovered some days after. The latter part of this account is confirmed by the sculptures upon some old stones erected near the spot; one of which is, to this day, called King Malcolm's Grave-Stone; all of them exhibiting some rude representations of the murder, and the fate of the assassins. The reader who is curious to know the particulars, may see them delineated by Mr. Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*.

Boece and Buchanan inform us, that Malcolm stained the latter part of his reign with avarice and oppression, occasioned by his own generosity in granting away his lands, as we have already seen. Though we have endeavoured to explain this fact, yet it is so express, and the evidences for it are so stubborn, that many readers may require a farther illustration. For my own part I cannot be easily persuaded, that a prince of such abilities, both civil and military, as Malcolm certainly possessed, could be guilty of an act of such insane generosity, as our historians have represented this cession to be. I shall therefore strengthen what I have already

Remarks
on former
historians.

ready said by an additional conjecture, which, I hope, will appear rational and natural. Kenneth, the father of Malcolm, had, with great difficulty, fixed the succession of the throne in his own family, by an act of the states; to which so little regard was paid after his death, that two princes succeeded to the crown upon the principles of the old constitution. Malcolm, by his amazing abilities and good fortune, conquered both those princes, and put an end to their reigns by their deaths; but he no sooner mounted the throne than he found it shaken by the most formidable prince then in Europe, who was master of England, Denmark, and Norway, countries the most contiguous to his own kingdom. The good fortune of Malcolm still continued: he had the glory of defeating his warlike enemies, and of establishing his throne in tranquillity. Was it not then natural for his subjects who had served him so bravely, to demand for themselves the same privilege which they had so generously granted to him? I am obliged to speak in those terms, because the alteration of the succession can admit of no other. Did not sound policy require, that after the crown was rendered hereditary, private estates should become so, likewise? Had not this alteration taken place in the latter case, a king of Scotland, in less than a century, must have been despotic, and consequently his people slaves.

Upon

Upon the whole, therefore, I must consider this step in a light very different from that in which it has been hitherto represented; and that it rose from a pact either express or understood, between the king and his nobility. The only difficulty now remaining, therefore, is, how the king came to be so imprudent as to dispose of all the lands in his kingdom. I have already, in part, given my opinion on this head; which is, that he reserved his demesne lands, and only granted away the estates that were already in possession of the great land-holders; which, together with the reservation of wardships and reliefs, and other advantages annexed to the royal authority, he might have thought sufficient for maintaining the dignity of his crown and station. Perhaps he was mistaken; and from the words of Fordun he very probably was. Some of the great landholders might claim some of the demesne lands as being within their grants; and perhaps the king might resume some of their estates as being part of his demesne; which might give occasion to our old historian to insinuate that he revoked his grants. I shall finish what I have to say on this important subject by observing, that when the English historians tell us that William the Conqueror granted to his followers all the lands of England, the demesne lands are never understood to be comprehended in that grant. Malcolm was above eighty

Disquisition.

eighty years of age when he was assassinated, of which he reigned thirty.

Duncan.

Duncan mounted the throne in the year 1034. Malcolm, besides Duncan's mother, had another daughter before his death, named Doad, who was married to the thane of Glamis, and is said to have been mother to the famous Macbeth, whom Winton and our old historians call Macbeth Finlay. There is, however, great reason to doubt this genealogy. The first years of Duncan's reign were tranquil; but it was soon over-cast by domestic broils on the following occasion. Banquo, thane of Lochaber, and ancestor to the royal house of Stuart, acted then in the capacity of steward to Duncan, by collecting his rents (an additional proof of the late king's having reserved the demesne lands); but being a severe justiciary, and making his collections rigorously, the inhabitants of the country way-laid, robbed, and almost murdered him. Recovering of his wounds he came to court, where he complained of the robbers, who were summoned to surrender themselves to justice; but, instead of obeying, they killed the messenger. The rebels are said to have been encouraged in this by one Mac-Dowald, who reproached the government and the king as being better fitted to rule drooping monks than brave men. This report coming to the ears of Macbeth, he represented the affair so effectually to the king, that he was sent with an army to reduce

reduce the insurgents, who had, by this time, destroyed all the king's friends in their neighbourhood. Macbeth performed his commission with great valour and success; encountered and defeated the rebels; forced their leader to put an end to his own life; and sent his head to the king. He then proceeded with the utmost severity against his followers; who, we are told, consisted of Irishmen, Islanders, and Highlanders. Such is the relation given by Boece of the commencement of this reign.

Scarcely was this insurrection quelled, when the Danes again landed in Fife; and Duncan, shaking off all his indolent habits, put himself at the head of an army, the thanes, Macbeth and Banquo, serving under him. The Danes were commanded by Swen, who is said to have been the eldest son of Canute, and during his father's life-time was king of Norway. His purpose was to have conquered Scotland, and to revenge the losses which the Danes and Norwegians had suffered during the late reign. He proceeded with all the barbarity common to his nation, putting to the sword men, women, and children, of all ages and stations. It was not long before a battle was fought between the two nations nigh Culrofs, in which the Scots were defeated; but the Danes purchased their victory so dearly, that they could not improve it; and Duncan retreated to Perth, while Macbeth was sent to raise a new army. Swen

A new invasion by the Danes.

laid siege to Perth, which was defended by Banquo, under Duncan. It is probable, that both sides were, at this time, under great distress; the besiegers for want of provisions, all the country round them being laid waste; and the besieged for want of skill to defend the town, because Banquo advised Duncan to treat with Swen concerning a capitulation. Swen at first refused to admit of any; but at last agreed to treat, provided the pressing necessities of his army were relieved. The Scotch historians with a very bad grace inform us, that this treaty was entered into on the part of Duncan to amuse Swen, and to gain time for the stratagem he was preparing. This was no other than an infamous contrivance for infusing herbs of noxious and intoxicating qualities into the liquors which were sent with the other provisions to the camp of Swen. According to them, those soporifics had the intended effect; and while the Danes were under their influence, Macbeth and Banquo being then joined, broke into their camp, where they put all to the sword, and it was with difficulty that some of Swen's attendants carried him on board; but we are told, that his was the only ship of all his fleet which returned to Norway. I hope, for the honour of the Scotch nation, that this story is as false as it is infamous and improbable. Might not the Scots have surprised the Danish camp in the night-time, and have obliged

obliged Swen to retire to his ships, without having recourse to the practice of drugging the provisions that had been sent to the Danes upon the public faith?

It was not long before a fresh body of Danes landed at Kinghorn in the county of Fife. They were soon encountered by the Scotch army, under Macbeth and Banquo, who completely defeated them; and such of the Danes as escaped the sword fled to their ships. It is probable that this battle was fought near Lundin, where several monumental stones are still to be seen, but without inscriptions or sculptures*. That they served as grave-stones cannot be doubted, from the number of bones and coffins found near them containing skeletons of extraordinary sizes. Before the Danes set sail, they entered upon a treaty with the two Scotch generals, for leave to bury their dead in Inchcolm, a small island lying in the Forth, with an abbey upon it dedicated to St. Columb; but that abbey has been since erected. A large sum of money soon purchased this favour for the Danes; and one of their monuments representing a stone-coffin, with a Tartar-like head at each end, is still to be seen on the island. This bar-

The Danes
again de-
feated.

* Upon some of the sculptured stones erected in those times, we meet with the figures of men with the heads of swine, which I strongly suspect to be a punning allusion to the name of Swen; and the figure of a brute, perhaps a sow, is to be seen on a stone at Inverkeithing.

gain being struck, the Danes set sail for their own country; and thus ended their descents upon Scotland. Before I take leave of those dreadful invaders, I must mention one of the most stately monuments of the Gothic kind to be seen in Europe, erected at Forreſs near Murray. For my own part, I entertain not the least doubt of its being intended by the Scots as a monument of the evacuation of that province, after the peace was concluded between Malcolm and Canute. It originally was above thirty-five feet in height, and five in breadth; and is adorned with rude sculptures, which are now unintelligible, but represent warlike trophies and marches on the one side; on the other, a cross with two uncouth figures of men. Mr. Gordon is of opinion, that it was erected by the Scots after the battle of Murtloch; but as the Danes were for some years after in possession of Murray, it is more reasonable to ascribe the erection of it to the event above-mentioned.

After the expulsion of the Danes, Duncan had leisure to indulge his zeal for justice and the reformation of his kingdom, while Macbeth, who had got great reputation by his valour in the late successes against the Danes, was hatching ambitious projects. Boece and some of our other historians have here given a loose to the extravagance of their fancy, by relating the well-known fable of the three weird sisters

ters appearing to Macbeth and Banquo, who hailed him thane of Glamis, thane of Cawdor, and, lastly, king of Scotland; but promising Banquo that his posterity should be kings of that realm. Nothing can be more ridiculous than this fiction, which is very justly exploded by Buchanan. Winton tells us, that the whole was no more than a dream of Macbeth. All the truth, perhaps, of the story is, that Macbeth gave out he had such a dream, in order to try how it would operate on the minds of the public: a stratagem not uncommon among people in ages more enlightened than we can suppose the Scots to have now been. Fordun is silent as to the whole story, and represents Duncan in a most amiable light. He had been married to the daughter of Syward, earl or prince of Northumberland, which, by all accounts, had then very little dependence on the crown of England, and by her he had two sons; Malcolm, named Canmore, and Donald, surnamed Bane, or the Fair. No sooner was Duncan crowned than he settled the principality of Cumberland upon Malcolm; and upon the retreat of the Danes, he cultivated so strict a friendship with all his neighbours, that he reigned in perfect tranquility. His custom was to perambulate the kingdom once a year; relieving the oppressed, punishing the guilty, reconciling differences and quarrels of all kinds, alleviating public misfortunes, and mitigating the
the

Duncan
murdered.

the rigour of tax-gatherers. Those virtues were far from ensuring the safety of this excellent prince; for (says our historian) the old tribe of conspirators meditated his ruin. Their proceedings were not so secret but that the king's friends had some intelligence of them, and endeavoured to put him on his guard. Duncan, conscious of no offence, and unwilling to harbour a suspicion of his subjects, discouraged the report, and this gave Macbeth an opportunity of murdering him at Inverness.

Macbeth,

Our historians are unanimous in painting Macbeth as the most ungrateful and atrocious of criminals, by murdering his uncle, and usurping his throne. I am, however, of opinion, that he was descended from the same Fenella who was concerned in the murder of Kenneth the third; and that Macbeth was at the head of a powerful party, which was still dissatisfied with the alteration of the succession, and sought to bring it back to its former principles. For this reason Fordun calls them the old tribe of conspirators; and by his expressly telling us, that Macbeth was the son of Fenella, there is reason to believe that he had some family pretensions to the crown, founded upon the ancient constitution. My conjectures are the more probable, as the sons of the late king were, by this time, grown to men's estate; and all they could do was to defend themselves against Macbeth. This (according to Fordun) they did for two years;

years; when, being unable to hold out longer, Malcolm retired to Cumberland, and Donald fled to the Isles. It is not to be doubted, that the young princes left behind them a very strong party; which gave great uneasiness to the usurper. His troubles were encreased, when he found that Malcolm's kinsman, the earl of Northumberland, not only entered warmly into his interest, but introduced him to Edward the Confessor, then king of England, who having been an exile himself, was naturally disposed to pity Malcolm's misfortunes, and accordingly promised him his assistance.

In the mean time Macbeth was crowned at Scone, and recognized as king of Scotland, but continued to keep a strict watch over the party of the exiled princes; in other respects he is allowed to have displayed excellent talents for government. His justice and equity were exemplary. He signalized himself in punishing thieves of all denominations: he endeavoured to gain the ecclesiastics to his party; and, by the force of money, he actually brought the court of Rome over to his interest. He marched in person into the most remote haunts of his lawless subjects, whom he reduced to order: he subdued and put to death Mac-Gill, the most powerful man in Galloway; a country which, at that time, was indisputably governed by its own princes, though possibly they were homagers to the crown of Scotland. All his

who mounts
the throne,

his abilities could not procure him tranquillity, and he imagined the party of the exiled princes to be more powerful than perhaps it was. This drove him into a severity, which soon terminated in cruelty. He grew jealous of Banquo, the most powerful subject in his dominions. He invited him to an entertainment, and treacherously ordered him to be murdered in his return; but Banquo's son Fleance, who was destined to the same fate, escaped. Here the deficiency of the Scotch historians, at so late a period, is amazing; but it is happily supplied by the English.

and receives
the Nor-
mans into
his protec-
tion.

Edward the Confessor's partiality to the Normans had raised up a strong opposition to his government in the person of the famous earl Godwin; but upon the conclusion of a peace, Edward was obliged to banish the Normans, or at least, such of them as were obnoxious; and particularly two noblemen, whom the historians of those times call Osbern and Hugh, who, with their numerous followers, retired to Scotland, where they were kindly received by Macbeth. This naturally rendered the Antinormannic party in England jealous of Macbeth's intentions; and prompted Malcolm's father-in-law, Syward, to be more assiduous in contributing towards his restoration. There is some reason to believe, that the general dissatisfaction of the Scots at Macbeth's government was so great, that had it not been for the Nor-
mans,

mans, he could not have supported himself as he did for almost seventeen years upon the throne, which is the time allotted by Fordun to his reign. The arrival of the Normans in Scotland was in the year 1054, which corresponds with the fourteenth year of Macbeth's reign; nor do I perceive that any doubt was raised concerning the legality of his government, till about that period; for Malcolm seems to have lived in his principality of Cumberland, without any thoughts of remounting his father's throne. The encreasing tyranny of Macbeth soon gave him that opportunity.

He becomes
a tyrant.

After the death of Banquo, and the flight of his son Fleance into Wales, Macduff, the thane of Fife, seems to have been the most considerable nobleman in Scotland. The influence he possessed was sufficient to render him suspected by Macbeth; but Macduff was so cautious and prudent, that no legal hold could be laid on his actions, which drove the tyrant so much from his guard, that he dropt some expressions even in Macduff's hearing, which convinced the latter his destruction was intended; upon this he fled into England. Macbeth, alarmed at his escape, entered his castle, and basely put to death his wife and children, who were yet infants; and sequestered all his estate. I am to observe, however, that Fordun does not mention the murders, though he does the confis-

Remarkable
passage of
Fordun.

cation; and his words upon that occasion are so very remarkable, that they well deserve to be translated here: "There arose (says he) a great discontent all over the kingdom, especially among the nobles, by whom Macduff was greatly beloved; because the tyrant, swayed not by justice, but by passion, had banished and attainted a nobleman of such worth and power, without the award of a general meeting of the nobles and states. They exclaimed it was unjust that any person, be his rank noble or private, should be either banished or attainted by a sudden arbitrary sentence, without having a day prescribed to him for his appearance at court in a legal manner; and when appearing there, to be either cleared by law, if innocent; and, if found guilty, to make satisfaction to the king in his person or effects. But in case he should neglect to attend the court, then sentence of banishment ought to take place; or, if the nature of his crime so require, he ought to be attainted."

Many are the observations that occur from this passage; the only one I shall mention is, the great conformity which it discovers between the English and Scotch constitutions at this period, as we find that earl Godwin was tried exactly in the same manner as Fordun mentions to have been the legal method of trying Macduff. By what we learn from history,

Macduff

Macduff was the first who inspired Malcolm with the idea of invading Scotland to assert his hereditary right. That prince had been accustomed to caution; for we are told, that Macbeth had spies who gave him intelligence of whatever passed in the families which he suspected. When Macduff accosted him (it is immaterial whether that happened at the court of England, or in Cumberland) Malcolm affected a shyness, which has given rise to a ridiculous conversation handed down by the Scotch historians, as if he had confessed himself guilty of so many vices and crimes, that Macduff thought him unworthy to reign. That Malcolm, (who was a prince of excellent sense) was on the reserve, can scarcely, considering his circumstances, be doubted; but his frankness in confessing his guilt must have destroyed the very effects he intended. It is sufficient to say, he sifted Macduff in such a manner that he thought he could trust him; and they understood each other so well, that they immediately applied to the court of England, and to Syward, for assistance. Edward agreed to Syward's raising ten thousand men in England; and Macduff went to Scotland to apprise Malcolm's friends of his intention. Macbeth appears to have been well served by his Norman auxiliaries; for he fought the vanguard of Syward's army, and killed his son with his own

I i 2

hand.

hand. Upon Malcolm's 'advancing' with the main body, and being joined by Macduff and his party, Macbeth took refuge in the most inaccessible places of the Highlands, where he defended himself for two years; but in the mean time, Malcolm was crowned and acknowledged king of Scotland at Scone,

Malcolm
crowned.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.
BOOK THE FOURTH.

From the Accession of MALCOLM
CANMORE, to the Death of
ALEXANDER III. in the Year
1285.

IT is to the English historians that we are A.D. 1057.
chiefly indebted for the history of Scot-
land, at this remarkable period. Fordun is
angry with William of Malmfbury, for ascrib-
ing the glory of Malcolm's restoration entirely
to Syward; and says, that Syward was called
back into England by Edward, in order to op-
pose Griffith, prince of Wales. We know not
the particulars of the war of Lumfannan (as it
is called) between Malcolm and Macbeth, and
which lasted two years. Our common histo-
rians, to supply this chasm, have invented a
prophe-

A.D. 1058.

A monkish
story.

prophecy for the tyrant, importing, that he was not to be killed by any man born of a woman; and another, that he should not die till Birnam wood should move to Dunsinuan (for so the castle was called in which he had fortified himself). He was still attended by a number of followers; and one of the prophecies was made good, when Malcolm ordered each of his soldiers (either to conceal their numbers, or to screen them from the heat of the weather) to advance to the attack of the castle under boughs, which they cut down in the wood. The circumstance of soldiers cutting down boughs was common in those days; and Malcolm and his friends might invent the fable for the sake of the application, to encourage their followers; though more probably it is of a much later date. The tyrant, in a fall, was killed by Macduff, who, according to an idle tradition, came into the world by the Cæsean operation, being cut out of his mother's belly. I should not have mentioned these ridiculous tales which are omitted by our old historian, and condemned by Buchanan, did they not serve to discover the genius of the age and country in which they were invented, and where the priesthood had the skill to coin a prophecy for every event of importance.

Lulach.

The usurpation of Macbeth did not end with his life; for his followers elected one of his kinsmen, Lulach, surnamed the Idiot, to succeed

ceed him. Not being able to withstand Malcolm, he withdrew to the North; but being pursued, was killed at Essey in Strathbogie. He reigned four months; and having, as well as Macbeth, been crowned at Scone, the performance of that ceremony, probably, intitled him to a royal burial at Icolm-kill.

A. D. 1059.

Among the first exercises of Malcolm's government, was the debt of gratitude which he paid to Macduff, who had been the chief instrument of his restoration. Having been formerly crowned at Scone, he granted him and his posterity four privileges: the first was, That they should place the king in his chair of state, at the time of his coronation: the second, that they should lead the van of all the royal armies: the third, that they should have a free regality within themselves; and the fourth, that if any of Macduff's family should be guilty of unpremeditatedly killing a nobleman, he should pay twenty-four, and if a plebeian, twelve marks, of silver; which last law (says Buchanan, who in this case may be allowed to be a competent evidence) was observed till the days of our fathers. The next care of Malcolm was to reinstate in their fathers possessions, all the children who been disinherited by the late tyrant, which he did in a convention of his nobles held at Forfar.

Malcolm III

rewards
Macduff.

If any credit is to be given to Boece, Macbeth, during his reign, abolished the laws of inhe-

The constitution
which had
been altered
by Macbeth

A.D. 1061.

inheritance which had been established under his three predecessors, by ordering all the lands and offices in the kingdom to be at the king's disposal, and to revert to the crown when their possessor died: so that there was a plain resumption of the inconsiderate grants made by Malcolm Mac-Kenneth. Other laws very unfavourable to public liberty, were likewise enacted; particularly those which disarmed the people, and made it penal for any of the commons or husbandmen to keep a horse for any other purpose than that of tillage and labouring the ground. Thus the old constitution was again restored; and hereditary right to private estates, as well as to the crown, was again abolished.

restored by
Malcolm.

Malcolm, whose education had been chiefly in England (where the introduction of the Normans, by Edward the Confessor, was beginning to introduce milder modes of the feudal government) being sensible of the force of words, found it would be very difficult to re-establish the hereditary system, without some alteration in the terms of dignities and offices. The word Thane carrying with it an idea incompatible with hereditary succession, it was changed into Earl, which had for some time prevailed in England; and Macduff, from being thane, was created earl of Fife. Other dignities were said to have been instituted about the same time; and the custom of patronimical

animical designations, by which every man was named after his father, with a Mac (signifying son) prefixed to his surname, began to wear out; and the surname was fixed to a clan instead of a person. Surnames from the lands of the proprietors were introduced, and such local names are to this day reckoned the most honourable. Those institutions could not have taken place among a people so wedded as the Scots were to their former usages, had not Malcolm possessed a great fund of political, as well as personal abilities. It is reasonable to believe, that the cruelties of Macbeth had driven many of Malcolm's family-friends into foreign parts, from whence they now returned, and assisted him with the lights they brought from abroad. I am even inclined to believe that after his restoration, he gave encouragement for the Normans, and the other foreigners who had retired to Scotland during the preceding reign, to settle in his kingdom; and this might in a great measure contribute to the general improvement of manners which then took place.

While Malcolm was busy in those arduous matters, advice was brought him of an insurrection of robbers in the southern parts of his dominions, near a place called Cockburn's-path; upon which he sent one of his chief officers, lately created earl of Dunbar, to quell the insurgents, in which he happily succeeded. From this particular, we can have no doubt that

Insurrections and wars.

A. D. 1062.

Malcolm had been, before his coronation at Scone, recognized by Edward as prince of Cumberland. We are therefore carefully to distinguish between his succession to the English estates with those south of Forth, and that to his crown, which he possessed by hereditary right. After this, Fordun and the Scotch historians entertain us with the well-known story of a conspiracy formed against Malcolm; and of his drawing the chief conspirator aside into a wood, where, after upbraiding him with his treachery, he offered to fight him upon equal terms: upon which the traitor threw himself at the king's feet, confessed his guilt, and gave hostages for his future good behaviour. The recital of this story is sufficient to confute it. It is a fable of the times; and with a very little alteration, is the same as that told of Edgar and Kenneth, which we have already mentioned. The like adventure is related, only with the difference of names, of several other kings.

Affairs of
England:

Our Scotch historians have fixed the time of Malcolm's accession to his crown to the year 1056, tho' it is certain that he left England in 1054. Syward was now dead, and was succeeded in his government of Northumberland by Tofti, second son to the famous earl Godwin, and brother to Harold, afterwards king of England. As a great party had been formed against the Godwin family, and Harold made no secret of his designs upon the crown, after the

A. D. 1063.

the death of Edward, it was natural for Tosti to connect himself with Malcolm, as his surest ally; nor could Malcolm have any friend so powerful to serve him as Tosti, especially after the death of Edward the Outlaw, the true heir to the crown, whom Edward the Confessor had sent for from Hungary, to counterbalance the power and ambition of the Godwin family. We are accordingly told, that a strict intimacy was contracted between Malcolm and Tosti; but it was of no long continuance. Tosti was one of the many princes of that age, who had been guilty of frequent murders; so that, in order to quiet his conscience (after the manner of those times) he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. He was also so detested, that the Northumbrians complained of his repeated acts of cruelty, refusing to be longer subject to him. Edward was in a manner compelled by their clamour to grant a commission for trying him; and Tosti being found guilty, his own brother Harold joined the Northumbrians against him in favour of earl Morchar, who was Tosti's competitor for Northumberland.

1064.

This being the state of affairs in England, we can be at no loss to account for the reasons why Malcolm, at this time, invaded Tosti's dominions; for which we have the authority of the English historians. It was the duty of Malcolm, as a feudary of England, to be an enemy to all Edward's enemies; and

A. D. 1065.

no doubt he found his advantage in other respects from the part he acted. I am inclined to fix this invasion to the year 1064, when Tostig was at Rome, where he seems to have made a very short stay, for he certainly was proscribed the beginning of next year: but neither the English nor the Scotch historians have informed us of any acquisition which Malcolm made by this invasion.

Rise of the
Stewart
family.

During his absence in England, where he visited Edward's court, and very possibly renewed his oath of fealty, some commotions seem to have happened in Murray, Ross, and the north and west parts of his dominions; but they are said to have been quelled by a general who is named Walter, and was the son of Fleance, who escaped Macbeth's murderers by flying into Wales, where he begot this Walter on a Welch princess; but I believe there is little more than tradition for this story. As to Walter, he undoubtedly was created high steward of Scotland, for the great services he performed to Malcolm; nor have we any reason to doubt his being the son of Fleance, and of his having returned to Scotland after Malcolm was settled on the throne. The high-stewardship was a dignity held by a service, and entitled the owner to all the privileges of a baron; but Malcolm, no doubt, added to it considerable estates. We are informed, that he served the king in Galloway likewise; and that he was highly

highly instrumental in curbing the tyranny of the great lords over their inferiors : but we are now upon the eve of the greatest revolution that ever happened in Britain ; I mean the conquest of England by the Normans.

A. D. 1066.

It is foreign to my purpose to relate the particulars of that conquest farther than it is connected with the history of Scotland. Upon the death of Edward the Confessor, Harold seized the throne of England, notwithstanding Edgar, son of Edward the Outlaw, was then at the English court, and undoubted heir to the crown. The truth is, Edgar was a weak prince, and Harold being victorious over all opposition, particularly from his brother Tosti, was quietly recognized by the English for their king. He had, however, the magnanimity to create Edgar, who was surnamed Atheling (or royal) earl of Oxford, and to treat him with great respect. In short, by his justice and moderation, he shewed himself worthy of the dignity he usurped. Upon Harold's defeat and death, and the accession of William the Norman to the crown of England, the latter plainly discovered some jealousy of Edgar. We shall not here discuss the question, how far Edgar forfeited his right, by acknowledging Harold for his sovereign. It is sufficient to say, that if the right of blood could have availed him, his title was better than even that of the Confessor. Upon William's paying a visit to his Norman dominions,

Adventures
of Edgar
Atheling.

A. D. 1067. nions, he appointed Edgar to attend him, and some other noblemen, whom he suspected to be in his interest; but upon his return to England, he found the people so disaffected to his government, that he proceeded with great severity; so that numbers of his English subjects took refuge in Cumberland, and other parts of Malcolm's southern dominions. Edgar's unassuming disposition seems to have preserved him from the conspiracies which the Anglo-Saxons were now daily forming against William and his Normans; for it does not appear from any good English historian, that he ever was in the field against the Conqueror. Edgar had two sisters, Margaret and Christina; and his two chief friends were Gospatric and Marleswin, who soon rendered him sensible how precariously he held his life under a jealous tyrant; and persuaded him to make preparations for flying by sea, with his sisters, to Hungary or some foreign country.

This resolution probably was formed while William was in the north of England, where he reduced York, with all that country. We know of no attempts he made against Malcolm; but Egelwin, bishop of Durham, pleaded great merit with him for having disposed Malcolm to renew the peace with William, as it stood in the days of Edward the Confessor. I am therefore inclined to believe, that Malcolm had, at this time, formed no connections with Edgar; and

and that William himself connived at Edgar's escaping to a country from whence he had nothing to fear. Be this as it may (for it is a matter of doubt) Edgar, attended by his mother Agatha, his two sisters, and a great train of Anglo-Saxon noblemen, embarked on board a small squadron; which, by stress of weather, was forced into the frith of Forth, where the illustrious exiles landed, at a place since called the Queen's - Ferry. Malcolm no sooner heard of their landing than he paid them a visit in person, and fell in love with the princess Margaret.

A. D. 1068.

Who is driven to Scotland.

It must be acknowledged that this was a bold step in Malcolm, as he could not but foresee the consequences; but it is more than probable that his great dependence was upon the Anglo-Saxon party in England, the heads of which no sooner heard of Edgar's landing in Scotland, than they repaired to Malcolm's court. It was not long before William formally demanded that Edgar should be given up to him; which Malcolm refused; and, upon this, war was declared between the two nations. Hoveden and some other English historians have represented this event in a different light, as if the whole had been contrived between Malcolm and Edgar; and they tell us, that the former was making war in the north of England, when Edgar landed at the Queen's-Ferry. In the relation I have given, I have been determined by

War between Scotland and England.

A. D. 1069. by Turgot, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and confessor to Margaret, whose life he wrote; and Eadred, abbot of Redewal, who wrote it likewise, and lived near the time.

Malcolm
ravages
England.

Besides the Anglo-Saxon noblemen, many of the clergy (some say Stigand and Aldred, the two English archbishops) joined Edgar in Scotland. Though the power of Malcolm was inconsiderable, compared to that of William, yet his English auxiliaries assisted him so effectually, that the Norman found great difficulty even to keep his own countrymen in their duty. He was obliged to give up the county of Northumberland to Gospatric (probably the same who had attended Edgar in his flight, and who was related to the Anglo-Saxon royal family) upon condition of his making war upon the Scots. Gospatric accordingly invaded Cumberland; but his visit was repaid by Malcolm's filling Northumberland, and all the north of England, with his ravages; and returning to his own country with a vast booty in prisoners and effects. But this was not the only method by which Malcolm sought to distress William; for he sent ambassadors to Denmark and Ireland, to invite their princes to join him in a confederacy against that conqueror.

The Danes, even at this time, kept up their claims upon the crown of England; so that they could not be supposed to be very zealous for Edgar. The Irish had received under their
pro-

protection the three sons of the late Harold, king of England, and it was natural for them to plead a family-right to their father's crown. All parties, however, were united against William; but when they came to particular stipulations, no general confederacy could be formed; and thus Malcolm's plan fell to the ground. The three sons of Harold made a descent upon Somersetshire with a body of Irish, to which William opposed one of English; but the latter were defeated; and it soon appeared that the Irish, by returning with a large booty to their ships, after ravaging the country, had only served for plunder. The Danes acted with more caution than the Irish, probably with a view of getting once more footing in England; and landing at the mouth of the Humber, in two hundred and forty small ships, they were joined by Edgar and his party. This descent threatened to overthrow the Norman government in England. William had taken the earldom of Northumberland from Gospatric, and given it to Robert Cummin, one of his Norman barons, who thought that he had little else to do than to take possession of his new dignity; but he was deceived.

The Northumbrians had joined Gospatric, and received the Danes as their countrymen; while Malcolm lay in the neighbourhood with an army ready to support them. Before a junction could be formed, the Northumbrians had en-

A. D. 1070.

tered into a conspiracy to murder all the Normans who fell into their hands; which they accordingly executed upon Cummin and his followers at Durham, where they had been guilty of great cruelties. After this, they attacked the forts which William had built at York; but not being able to take them, in the middle of December, the English, Scots, and Danes, united their arms, and marching towards York took that city, and put to the sword three thousand Normans who were there in garrison. This success was followed by incursions and ravages into the country of England, where the Danes and Northumbrians acquired a great booty.

It soon appeared that the Danes and Northumbrians, who considered themselves almost as one people, were no more in earnest than the Irish, to assist Edgar; and that all his dependence was upon Malcolm, and the few southern English who had followed his fortunes; for the Northumbrians and Danes were no sooner masters of the booty, than the former retired to their habitations, and the latter to their ships. William, haughty as he was, deigned to court the English upon this occasion, by restoring the Saxon laws, and mitigating the severity of the Normannic government. This compliance, together with the ravages lately committed in England, re-established his authority; and he saw himself again at the head
of

of an army, with which he set out for the North. After a very difficult march, occasioned by the rains, he arrived in Yorkshire, where he took a severe revenge upon the Northumbrians (great part of Yorkshire then lying in Northumberland); and though he met with a brave opposition from earl Waltheof, son to Syward, he took York, and put to death all its inhabitants. After this, perceiving that the Danes still lay hovering upon the coast; and being apprehensive that they might join Malcolm, who was at the head of a strong army, he sent a sum of money to Osbern, their general, and brother to their king, with an offer of what provisions he pleased to accept of, provided he would return to Denmark; and Osbern accordingly complied with the terms.

A.D. 1070.

It is probable that Malcolm, perceiving this sudden turn in favour of William, withdrew to his own dominions, where he lay upon the defensive. Upon his retreat, William took possession of Durham, wintered at York, and received the submissions of Waltheof and Gospatric; creating the former earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and giving him his own niece in marriage. Soon after, William marched to Wales, where he quelled an insurrection; and Edgar, on the retreat of the Danes, returned to Scotland, where Malcolm was making great preparations once more to invade England. Other historians are of opinion, that he did not

Returns to
Scotland.

A. D. 1071. join Malcolm, till the army of the latter was upon its march towards England.

Again in-
vades Eng-
land.

This part of our history falls in with the year 1071. The English historians have been very severe upon Malcolm's barbarity during this invasion; and possibly, in some instances, it may not be defensible. We are, however, to recollect, that the Northumbrians and Danes had, by this time, abandoned both Edgar and Malcolm, after giving them the strongest assurances of fidelity: and the Scotch historians (who are not very correct as to French or English names) have mentioned several very cruel inroads into Malcolm's dominions before this time. Fordun mentions particularly, an invasion of Scotland by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, brother to William, who was defeated by Malcolm at the mouth of the Humber; but the English historians are not clear as to the fact; and I follow them chiefly at this period. According to them, Malcolm invaded England by Cumberland, ravaged Teesdale, and, at a place called Hundreds - keld, near Barnard - castle, killed some English noblemen, with all their followers. He next wasted Cleveland, in the North-Riding of Yorkshire; renewed his ravages in the neighbourhood; sent back the booty with part of his army to Scotland; and pillaged the bishopric of Durham, where he is said not to have spared the most sacred edifices, and to have burnt them to the ground.

Gospa-

Gospatric, to whom William had lately ceded Northumberland, in the mean time attempted to make a diversion to Malcolm, by falling into his principality of Cumberland. There is reason for believing that Malcolm had taken care to guard that principality with the troops which had carried off his booty; for Gospatric was repulsed, and obliged to shut himself up in Bamborough-castle. It can afford neither instruction nor amusement to the reader, to give a detail of all the cruelties, which Malcolm is accused of having committed, after this, in the North of England. There is one reason for believing them to have been exaggerated by Simeon of Durham and other English historians, which is, that no country seems capable of supplying such ravages; though it is very probable that the war was carried on with great fury on both sides, and that Malcolm brought off with him a great number of English captives, with whom he peopled the southern part of his dominions. Upon the whole, one of the reasons why I have preferred the English and Norman to the Scotch historians, in the warlike accounts of this reign, is, because the former must undoubtedly have been better instructed than the latter were, in the names of their generals and noblemen, as well as of places within their own dominions. Besides an earl Roger, who, as the Scots say, invaded Scotland, they tell us of an earl of Gloucester, both of whom were defeated
by

A.D. 1072. by Malcolm and his generals. Besides Odo, brother to king William, they have given the command of another army to that conqueror's son, Robert, surnamed Curtois, who secretly befriended Edgar, and did nothing worth mentioning. The English histories take no notice of those generals, or their defeats; and nothing is more likely, than that William trusted for the defence of Northumberland and the northern parts to those noblemen, whether English or Northumbrian, to whom he had granted them in fee.

Even the English historians admit that, at the period I now treat of, Malcolm was victorious, and carried back his army to Scotland in triumph. It does not clearly appear, whether Malcolm had been married to the princess Margaret, Edgar's sister, before his return from this ruinous expedition into England. Archbishop Turgot, and the abbot Ealred, whom I have already mentioned, intimate that the marriage took place immediately upon Edgar's arrival in Scotland; other writers fix it to the year 1070, and the English historians a year later; and all agree that it was celebrated at Dunfermling, where Malcolm had a palace. Perhaps the nuptials were not solemnized till the last-mentioned year; and this is the more probable, as from that period the temper and disposition of Malcolm took a new and a favourable turn towards humanity. We are obliged to the English historians

torians for the knowledge of the following fact, which happened at the same time. Frederick, abbot of St. Alban's, perceiving the miseries of the English under the Norman government, entered into a conspiracy against William, and sent to Scotland for Edgar, who accordingly repaired to England, to head the insurrection. His name was so popular, that William did not chuse to employ force in quelling the conspiracy; but took an oath at Berkhamstead to govern the English by their own laws. Upon this the conspirators laid down their arms; and Edgar, notwithstanding the various means William used to secure his person, escaped back to Scotland. William was no sooner freed from this danger, than he disregarded all the terms he had so lately sworn to; and heaped fresh cruelties upon the English, who no longer having Edgar to head them, were forced to shelter themselves in the Isle of Ely, and other remote fortresses. Those who assembled in the Isle made a most formidable stand, and chose Hereward, a nobleman of great distinction, for their chief. They were joined by the bishop of Durham, and some other noblemen who had, like him, taken refuge in Scotland. William marched against them with an army, and with great difficulty dislodged them out of the Isle; and the brave Hereward escaped through the Fens to Scotland.

A. D. 1072.

Conspiracy
in England.

When

A. D. 1072.

William the
Conqueror
invades
Scotland.

When we compare all circumstances, and reflect on the vast resources which William had, both in England and from the continent, it is amazing that Malcolm should have made such a stand as he did against his power. William's conquest of the Isle of Ely, which happened in the year 1072, afforded him leisure to raise an army, which might strike at the root of all his dangers, by enabling him to invade Scotland. The English historians have been very pompous in their accounts of this expedition; and the difficulties William met with, give us some idea of Malcolm's power and policy; tho' some parts of the Conqueror's conduct are somewhat unaccountable. We are told, for instance, that he invaded Scotland by Galloway, which is at present the westernmost part of the kingdom. From this, all we can conclude is, that this invasion was carried on both by sea and land; and that William made a descent in the mouth of Solway-frith, or in Wigton-bay; for it is certain that he found Yorkshire, Northumberland, Durham, and Richmondshire, so depopulated and ravaged, that he could not march through them. The Saxon Chronicle expressly says, that he blocked up the Scots by sea; and that he marched his land-forces to a certain river, which, by the similarity of the name, the right reverend editor of that chronicle thinks (though improbably) to have been the Tweed. The same Chronicle

says,

Bishop
Gibson.

says, that in his land march he found nothing which could be of service to him. Polydore Virgil, the foreign historian of English affairs, informs us that William penetrated into Galloway, because he understood that it was the chief receptacle for his English enemies. I am rather inclined to believe, that as this country was not then subject to Scotland, or but very imperfectly so, and governed by a separate prince, William was in hopes of being joined by the inhabitants, who had but a very few years before been at war with the Scots. I throw out these hints only by way of conjecture, and shall now pursue the thread of the history.

William found so little encouragement in Galloway, that having in vain harassed his troops by marching over its hills and through its deserts, he struck through Clydesdale, and proceeded directly to Lothian, where Malcolm lay with his army. Both princes, for some days, faced each other; but neither inclined to fight, if they could avoid it with honour. The English army was probably fatigued; and if defeated, must have been without resources. On the other hand, the loss of a battle to Malcolm might have been attended with that of his crown and kingdom. After long deliberation, a peace was agreed upon; Malcolm consenting to pay homage to William. The Scotch historians themselves agree with the English as to

Receives
Malcolm's
homage.

A. D. 1703. those facts ; but contend that the homage Malcolm then paid, was only for his English possessions ; and both parties say, that William received it at Abernethy, which lies north of the Forth, and was formerly the capital of the Pictish kingdom. It is likewise admitted, that, upon the conclusion of the peace, a cross was erected at Stanmore, in Richmondshire, with the arms of both kings, to serve as a boundary between Malcolm's feudal possessions in England, and those of William. Part of this monument, which is called Re-cross, or rather the Roy-cross, or Cross of the Kings, was entire in the days of Camden.

It appears from the best of our historians, that Malcolm had, for some time, refused to pay homage for Cumberland to William, for the same reason that his predecessor, Malcolm the second, refused to pay it to the Danes, because he was not the heir of the Anglo-Saxon princes. The assertion of Hollinshed and modern English historians, that Malcolm paid homage for all Scotland, is founded on the authority of the monk Ingulphus, which must be of very little importance ; because, in the first place, he says, that William then conquered all Scotland, which is a notorious falsehood ; and in the next, he does not specify the territories for which the homage was paid. The truth is, William seems to have been as fond as Malcolm was of peace, and it was concluded upon terms
highly

highly to the honour of the latter; because William agreed, that the English exiles should be pardoned; and that Malcolm should re-enter into the possession of his English dominions, upon his performing for them the same homage as his predecessors had done to the former kings of England. It is added, that William demanded Malcolm should not, for the future, give protection to the English exiles in Scotland; and that those who were already there, should be re-admitted to their estates and honours, upon their properly recognizing William's right to the English crown. As to the homage paid by Malcolm, it could be no derogation to his honour, as it was only for the English estates he held; and the like homage was paid by William himself and his successors, for their French possessions. Edward the first, it is true, in his claim of superiority over the Scotch nation, mentions this homage to have been paid for all Scotland; but he does it upon evidences I have already examined and disproved; and later English writers were so sensible of their weakness, that they have had recourse to the most manifest forgeries, in support of his pretensions: indeed, it would be mispending the reader's time to answer arguments which refute themselves.

A.D. 1705.

Upon what terms.

The establishment of peace between Malcolm and William, introduced a total alteration of manners among the Scots. Many causes con-

A. D. 1705.

Alteration
of manners
in Scotland.

tributed to this; but the chief was the excellent disposition of Malcolm's queen, the pattern not only of piety, but politeness, for that age. The next was the great number of foreigners who had settled in Scotland; among whom, if I mistake not, were some French, as Malcolm, by his differences with William, became the natural ally of the French king, who, we are told, furnished him with some auxiliaries. The third cause I shall mention, was the fair opportunity which the new-established peace offered to Malcolm, for softening the natural ferocity of his subjects. As to Malcolm himself, the prodigious devastations which he carried through England, shew him to have been, by habit, a barbarian; but his after-conduct proves him to have been endued with all the qualities besitting a great prince.

The queen
of Scotland
reforms the
court.

During Malcolm's absence in England, his excellent queen chose Turgot not only for her confessor, but her assistant in her intended reformation of the kingdom. She began with her own court, which she new-modelled, by introducing into it the offices, furniture, and modes of life, that were usual among the more polite nations of Europe. She dismissed from her service, all who were noted for immorality and impiety; and she charged Turgot, upon pain of her displeasure, to give her his real sentiments upon the state of the kingdom, after the best enquiry he could make. Turgot's report

report was by no means favourable to the reputation of the Scots. He informed Margaret, that faction raged among the nobles; rapine among the commons; and incontinence among all degrees of men. Above all, he complained of the kingdom being destitute of a learned clergy, capable of reforming the people by their example and doctrine. The queen was not discouraged by this report, and soon made her husband sensible how necessary it was for his glory and safety, to second her efforts for reforming his subjects. She represented to him particularly, the corruption of justice, and the insolence of military men; and found in him a ready disposition for reforming all abuses. He accordingly began the great work, by setting the example in his own person, and obliging his nobility to follow it.

A people, like the Scots, long habituated to rapine, and the oppression of their inferiors, in which they were indulged by the feudal laws, thought all restrictions of their power were so many steps towards their slavery. The introduction of foreign offices and titles confirmed them in this opinion; and an insurrection happened in Ross, Murray, and Marr, headed by one Mac Duncan, so dangerous, that Malcolm thought proper to march in person against the rebels. Being advanced as far as Monimusk, he had certain intelligence that they were drawn up on the farther banks of the Spey, and consisted

Insurrection
in Scotland.

A. D. 1076. list of all the clans in the North and West. Malcolm, upon this, vowed, after the manner of those times, to grant the lands of Monimusk to the church of St. Andrew's, if he should return victorious from his expedition. We are to observe, that he had sent before him Macduff, with an army, to attack the rebels, whom that nobleman found so powerful, that he durst not advance till he was joined by Malcolm. When the latter came to the banks of the Spey, he saw the rebels drawn up in much better order, and making a more formidable appearance, than he expected; but this was so far from daunting Malcolm, that he ordered his troops to advance, and pass the river, though the most impetuous of any in Scotland. His standard-bearer seeming to make a halt, Malcolm plucked the banner from his hands, and gave it to a brave knight, Sir Alexander Carron, who immediately plunged into the stream. Such a shew of resolution discouraged the insurgents; and they employed their clergy, an order of men whom they knew Malcolm regarded, to intercede for their pardon. Those fathers, accordingly, appearing on the farther bank in a posture of humiliation, Malcolm gave orders for their being ferried over, which they accordingly were; and he received their submissions. Malcolm, however, refused to grant them an unconditional pardon. He gave the common people, whom he knew to be
the

A.D. 1076.

the slaves of their chieftains, liberty to return to their respective habitations; but insisted on all the better for surrendering themselves to his pleasure. This they were obliged to comply with. Mac Duncan and several of the ring-leaders were either put to death, or had their lands forfeited, while many were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and their estates confiscated.

Farther re-
formations.

Our historians have been fond of sending Walter the steward, at this time, into Gallo-way, where he again subdued the rebels; but, though this is by no means improbable, perhaps it was the same expedition that we have already mentioned as the origin of the Stewart-family. The peace of Scotland being again restored, Malcolm returned to his schemes of reformation. He found the feudal institutions so deeply rooted among his people, that he durst not entirely abolish the infamous practice of the landlord claiming the first night with his tenant's bride; but we certainly know that, by the queen's influence, this privilege was commuted into the payment of a piece of money by the bridegroom, and has been since known by the name of *Mercheta Mulierum*, or The Woman's Mark. By the best accounts, the Scots of those days were without the practice of saying grace after their meals, till it was introduced by Margaret, who gave a glass of wine, or other liquor, to every guest who remained

A. D. 1076. maintained at the royal table, and heard the thanksgiving; and this innocent expedient gave rise to the term of the Grace-drink. It cannot, however, be denied that superstition had a great share in the reformation then brought about. The queen and Turgot began by regulating the duration of Lent, and the time of Easter; and, according to Fordun, the king administered meat and drink to a certain number of poor people with his own hands, every day. Turgot tells us, that the queen not only did the same, but bestowed large alms of silver among the needy, and washed the faces of six of their number.

His religious endowments.

Princes who, in their own persons, applied themselves to such devotional exercises, could not be supposed to stop there. The bishoprics of Murray and Caithness were then founded; those of Murtlach, Galloway, St. Andrew's, and Glasgow, were endowed with additional lands and revenues; and all the dilapidations which the episcopal estates had suffered during the late wars, were repaired. Parish-churches were rebuilt and ornamented by the royal bounty; but above all, Malcolm's favourite residence, the palace of Dumfermling, was embellished and enriched; for the queen not only caused a stately church to be built there from the foundation, but endowed it with vessels of gold and silver; and besides other jewels of immense value, she bequeathed to it in her own life-

life-time, the famous black cross, which was composed of diamonds, and had been brought to Scotland by her brother Edgar, as being one of the royal jewels of England. A monastery was likewise founded here by Malcolm, and endowed with great privileges. These instances are sufficient to shew how very considerable a progress Malcolm and his queen made, in the introduction of piety, and the amendment of manners, among their subjects.

Notwithstanding those noble regulations, some historians have (I believe with great justice) complained, that with the manners of the English and the French, their luxuries were introduced into Scotland. The Scots, till this reign, had been remarkable for the sobriety and simplicity of their fare, which was now converted into excess and riot, and sometimes ended fatally by broils and bloodshed. We are told, at the same time, that even in those days their nobility eat only twice a day, and were served with no more than two dishes at each meal; but that their deviation from their ancient temperance, occasioned a diminution of the strength and size of the people.

Edgar Atheling returned to England the year after the conclusion of the peace between William and Malcolm, where he had large appointments settled upon him; but we know of no attempts he made against the established government, though the North of England was

English
affairs.

A. D. 1074. then full of confusion and bloodshed. After William had left Scotland, he stripped Gospatric of Northumberland, either because it had been so stipulated in the late peace, or because he was dissatisfied with his conduct when he commanded against the Scots, and especially for the share he had in the death of Cummin. He was succeeded by earl Waltheof, Syward's son; but this part of history is not without its difficulties; for I strongly suspect that Gospatric never was possessed of all Northumberland, though he had a large estate in that country; and there seems to have been certain provincial names, which among the Danish race were appropriated indiscriminately to their great men. Thus several Waltheofs, Sywards, and Gospatrics, might exist at the same time, and might be successively possessed of the same lands; and this identity of appellations necessarily creates a confusion in history. We cannot therefore be positive, that this kinsman of Malcolm was the same earl Waltheof, who, after discovering a dangerous conspiracy, which William quelled, was by his order, afterwards, most ungratefully beheaded at Winchester, in 1074.

There is, however, a great presumption that he was the same; and that Malcolm's resentment for his death, occasioned his invasion of England in 1077. It was probably at this time, that the Scots, under the earl of Dunbar, defeated

feated the two Norman noblemen I have already mentioned, Robert and Richard; for I perceive that William then brought over to England his son Robert to command against the Scots; and it is unquestionable that, soon after, his brother, the warlike bishop of Bayeux, actually did march against them with an army. From those circumstances we may form some idea of the confusion introduced into the Scotch history, by the disregard of all its old writers to method and chronology. The murder of bishop Walcher (who, after Waltheof's death, had either purchased or obtained his estates from William) by the Northumbrians, falls within this period; and it was to reduce those rebels, that the bishop of Bayeux was sent to the North. Malcolm was then in arms; and had entered into a correspondence with the Danes for invading England. This having come to William's knowledge, he sent orders to his brother to be particularly attentive to the sea-coasts, in case the Danes should land; and we accordingly find, that except laying waste the country, in order to cut off the subsistence of the Danes, Odo did nothing of importance, either against the rebel Northumbrians or the Scots. I am now arrived to the year 1080, when Odo being recalled from his command, was succeeded in it by Robert, William's eldest son, one of the most warlike, but unambitious princes of the age. We have no

A.D. 1077.

Continued.

1079.

1080.

A. D. 1085. authority from the English historians which countenances those of Scotland in saying, that Robert was defeated by Malcolm; nor do we know of any action he performed, except that of planning out a town, which is now so well known by the name of Newcastle upon Tyne.

The invasion of England by the Danes certainly failed, thro' the vigilance of William, and by the force of his money, which bribed their chief counsellors. In the year 1085, William carried over Edgar Atheling with him to Normandy, and there they parted. The Saxon Chronicle (the best historical authority of those times) says, that he there deserted William; but by this we are only to understand, that Edgar took his leave of him; and that he went with two hundred knights to Italy, from whence he proceeded on a crusade to the Holy Land. The safety of Edgar, when in the power of such a prince as William, was undoubtedly owing to Malcolm, who in case of Edgar's death, would have been a formidable competitor for the English crown. William, however, was safe in Edgar's weakness and inactivity; and this seems to have been the true source of his generosity to that unambitious prince. William soon after died in France; and the adventures of Edgar, during the intermediate time, are unknown.

Death of
William the
Conqueror.

The death of the Conqueror, and the accession of William Rufus to his throne, altered the

A.D. 1053.

History
of Edgar
Atheling.

the whole system of Malcolm's connections with England. He considered Rufus as usurping not only the right of Edgar, but of his elder brother Robert. No sooner was the death of the Conqueror known to Edgar, than he repaired to France, where he was kindly received, and nobly entertained by Robert; but when matters were compromised between the two brothers, Rufus persuaded Robert to withdraw his countenance from Edgar, while he confiscated all those estates in England, which the Conqueror had given him. This severity was occasioned by the preparations Malcolm was making for invading England, which Rufus persuaded Robert, an easy, impolitic prince, were intended to place Edgar on the English throne. Malcolm, who was then in the height of his glory, saw Edgar once more reduced to throw himself upon his protection, and he received him as formerly, with the greatest affection and respect, though he seems to have had no reason to be pleased with his conduct. He was at the time of Edgar's arrival, at the head of a brave, well-disciplined army, and preparing to invade England. The beginning of May, Malcolm without resistance penetrated a great way into the country, making a vast booty, with which he returned to Scotland. The Saxon Chronicle intimates, that he was beaten by William's lieutenants; but Florence of Worcester and other historians only say, that it was the

Malcolm
invades
England.

A. D. 1091.

the will of Providence he should advance no farther: an expression which more modern writers are at a loss to account for, as also for Malcolm's hasty return from so promising an expedition.

The Scotch histories tell us, that Malcolm was provoked to this, invasion by the injustice of William's lieutenants, who had seized his castle of Alnwick, and of William himself, who had sequestered into his own hands twelve fine manors that had been given him by the Conqueror. The English chronicles agree with those of Scotland as to these facts; but I am apt to believe that the castle of Alnwick was surprized while Malcolm was in the more southerly parts; and that the true reason of his return to Scotland, was the certain intelligence he had, that William, with his elder and younger brothers, were on their return from France to England, which accordingly happened in the autumn of this year. Upon their arrival, William raised great armaments both by sea and land, to invade Scotland. His fleet was dashed to pieces by storms and tempests, and almost all who were on board of it perished. Malcolm had foreseen the invasion by land, and had so effectually laid waste the counties through which the English army was to pass, that William lost great part of his troops by fatigue and famine; and when he arrived in Scotland, found himself in no condition to prosecute his ambitious schemes,

Scotland
invaded.

schemes, especially as Malcolm was advancing against him with a powerful army. A.D. 1091.

Rufus, in this distress, had recourse to Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, who dissuaded him from venturing a battle; but counselled him, if possible, to open a negotiation by means of Edgar and the other English noblemen residing with Malcolm. His advice proved salutary and successful. Edgar being applied to, and having obtained a promise of being restored to his English estate, undertook the negotiation, which seems to have been a matter of more difficulty than he had apprehended. According to Odericus Vitalis, who lived at the time, and was well acquainted with public affairs, Malcolm had never yet recognized the right of Rufus to the English crown, and therefore he refused to treat with him as a sovereign prince, but offered to enter into a negotiation with his elder brother Robert. Robert, very probably at William's desire, gave Malcolm the meeting; and the latter, carrying him to an eminence, shewed him the disposition of his army, and offered, if Robert would give him leave, to cut off his younger brother, and to pay to him the allegiance that was due for his English possessions. Robert generously answered, That he had resigned to Rufus his right of primogeniture in England; that he had even become one of William's subjects there, by accepting of an English estate. The mention of this interview has been

unac-

A. D. 1092. unaccountably omitted by all the Scotch historians, though one of the most remarkable circumstances of Malcolm's reign, as it displays, better than any other that I know of, his principles and politics. From it we learn, that he considered the pretensions of Edgar to the crown of England as being extinguished, and that the homage he had already paid to the Conqueror was due to his eldest son. It appears, however, that he thought the abdication of Robert left him at liberty to treat with William. An interview between them accordingly followed; and many difficulties being surmounted, a treaty was concluded; by which it was agreed, that Malcolm should yield the same obedience to Rufus, as he had done to his father the Conqueror: that William should restore to Malcolm, the twelve manors in dispute, together with his other English possessions; and give him likewise twelve marks of gold yearly, besides restoring Edgar to all his English estates.

A peace.

That this treaty was concluded in Lothian, and not at Leeds, in Yorkshire (as the Scotch historians contend) is next to certain, not only from the testimony of the English chronicles, but from the circumstance of William, upon his returning from the place of treaty, having taken a liking to the situation of Carlisle, which he intended to fortify.

William

A. D. 1092.

William thought this treaty so dishonourable on his part, that he resolved not to fulfil it; and it is generally agreed that necessity alone forced him to conclude it. He carried Edgar back with him to England, where he found that some of his noblemen had conquered part of the Welch borders, and that his affairs were in a state of great security. Robert and Edgar having been the principal instruments in completing the late negotiation, began to remind William of his engagements with themselves, as well as with Malcolm; but his answers were so evasive, that they plainly saw he was resolved to perform nothing: upon which they threw themselves on ship-board, and passed over to Normandy. Upon their departure, William applied himself to fortify his northern barrier, and especially Carlisle (which had been two hundred years before destroyed by the Danes); but as it lay within Malcolm's feudal dominions, and as its situation was of great importance, it was then possessed by one Dolphin, whom, with his followers, William expelled, and began to build a new castle within the town; which Malcolm complained of as a breach of the late treaty. Soon after this, William fell ill; but upon his recovery, in autumn, Malcolm repaired to his court, at Gloucester, that he might have a personal interview with William, and redress of all his complaints; and lastly, to conclude a new treaty, which might

A. D. 1093. finish all disputes between the two nations for the future. Upon his arrival, he found he could get no admittance to William's presence, without having first performed his homage, and submitted to the judgment of his barons in full court. We are told that Malcolm refused to do either; because he was only obliged, by the late treaty, to do homage in the same manner as the former kings of Scotland had done it to William's predecessors, and as he himself had performed it to the Conqueror; that is, upon the confines of both kingdoms. William rejected his reasons; and peremptorily insisting upon his compliance, Malcolm left England in a rage.

I have given the last-mentioned transaction at Gloucester from unquestionable authors, who seem to blame William for his haughtiness. I am, however, of opinion, that Malcolm's refusal of doing homage arose from the terms not being complied with upon which he was to perform it; and that the real intention of William was, to try him as an English peer, upon some charge which was easy to be invented. Be this as it may, upon Malcolm's return to Scotland, he raised a new army, and besieged Alnwick.

Robert de Mowbray, the then governor or earl of Northumberland, raised some forces to oppose Malcolm; but could not prevent the siege being carried on with great vigour. According

According to Fordun and other Scotch historians, the place was reduced to such streights, that a knight came out of the castle, with its keys on the point of his spear; and telling those whom he met that he was come to lay them at Malcolm's feet. That prince, unarmed as he was, advancing to receive them, was by the traitor run through the eye, and killed upon the spot. They add, that prince Edward, Malcolm's eldest son, was mortally wounded in endeavouring to revenge his father's death; and Fordun says, he died three days after. The English historians on the other hand contend, that Malcolm was surprized in his camp by Mowbray; that he was killed by one Morel de Bæbaburh; that his son fell at the same time; and that their army suffered a total rout. Upon comparing circumstances, I cannot help giving the preference to the English relation, that of the Scotch being full of inconsistencies. It is very possible, that Malcolm might have been treating with the governor of the garrison about a surrender, when his army was surprized by Mowbray; and there is nothing improbable in our supposing him to have been killed in the attack, perhaps by the very man with whom he was treating, and who might have been in concert with Mowbray. This is the utmost we can allow to the Scotch narrative; and it accounts for prince Edward being mortally wounded, as Fordun says he was, during the

Malcolm
killed.

A. D. 1093. confusion occasioned by the attack. The relation of the Scots is the more improbable, by their childishly alledging that the surname of Piercy, an old Norman barony, took its rise from the manner in which Malcolm was killed. They are better founded when they tell us, that their excellent queen Margaret was then lying ill within the castle of Edinburgh, where she died, four days after her husband. It is certain, that Malcolm's body was discovered, and carried in a cart by some country fellows to Tinmouth church, where it lay buried, together with that of his son, till both of them were removed some years after to the abbey of Dumfermling*.

His issue,

Malcolm's issue by Margaret was as follows: Edward, who was killed as we have already mentioned; Edmund, who died in England the same year his father was slain. Some say, that he was a brave and a valiant prince, and that he had retired from the world at the time of his death: but William of Malmfbury gives us a very different idea of him; for he says, that he was accessory to his elder brother's death

* The following epitaph, composed by some Scotchman who probably was contemporary with Malcolm, takes no notice of his having been treacherously run through the eye:

“ Ter deca quinque valens armis, & mensibus octo,

MALCOLMUS, sanctus rex erat in SCOTIA.

ANGLOSUM gladiis in bello sternitur heros,

Hic rex in SCOTIA primus humatus erat.”

The meaning of the last line is, that he was the first king of Scotland not buried at Icolm-kill,

(by

(by which it would seem as if he had served in the English army) and that he had agreed to divide the kingdom with his bastard-brother Duncan; but being discovered, he was taken and thrown into prison, where he died a sincere penitent, desiring that he might be buried in the irons with which he was loaded. I am apt to believe Malmſbury's relation. Of Ethelred, the third ſon, we know nothing, but that he was buried at St. Andrew's; and we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention his three younger ſons; Edgar, Alexander, and David. The daughters were, Matilda or Maud, married to Henry the firſt of England; and Mary, the wife of Euſtace, count of Bouillon, brother to Godfrey and Baldwin, ſucceſſively kings of Jeruſalem.

Malcolm, who was killed the ſixth of June, in the thirty-fixth year of his reign, was a very extraordinary prince for that age; and though there is reaſon to ſuſpect his hiſtorians, who were churchmen, of partiality, yet the Engliſh hiſtorians leave us no room to doubt of his valour and prowels. The barbarous manner in which he made war is to be charged upon the times; and it was his peculiar felicity to have for his wife, a woman whoſe amiable virtues ſoftened the ferocity both of him and his ſubjects. But after all I have ſaid, the ſtate of Scotland at the time of his death, affords ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect, that we have only the bright ſide of his character and actions.

and character.

A. D. 1093.

Donald,
surnamed
Bane.

It appeared in a few days after Malcolm's death, that his own authority and courage alone had given tranquility, but without any stability, to the internal government of his kingdom. Notwithstanding all that had been done by himself and his family, to render the succession hereditary, tho' they were princes of exemplary virtues, and tho' their succession had been broken into by a detestable tyrant, yet such was the prevalent love which the Scots had for the collateral succession to their crown, that during all his reign, a strong party in its favour was lurking in the kingdom. At the head of this was his brother Donald, surnamed Bane, whose name is not mentioned in the long reign of Malcolm; but who appears to have retired in discontent to the Islands and Highlands, where his partizans were so numerous, as well as in the Lowlands, that there does not seem to have been even a struggle for the son of Malcolm, when his uncle, Donald, mounted the throne. His party was greatly assisted by the universal dissatisfaction at the measures of the late reign, in introducing the English and other foreigners, and raising them to great posts and estates. I have already traced the reasons for this innovation (for it was no other) in the government, and shewn that they were partly political, and partly necessary. It would perhaps be no difficult matter to shew, that the glorious figure which

Malcolm



Miller sculp.

DONALD, VII.

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PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Malcolm the third made in the time of the Conqueror and his son, was owing to Edgar's party in England; but Donald, upon his accession, expelled all foreigners out of Scotland, and obliged them to seek refuge in England, through the intercession of Edgar, who was then at that court.

A. D. 1033.

Their removal gave a new, but a dismal, face to the affairs of Scotland. Malcolm's family had still a great interest in the kingdom; and Atheling found means to rescue his nephew Edgar, the eldest son of Malcolm, out of the hands of Donald, and to carry him to the court of Rufus, where he was in great reputation. He was then aged, infirm, and venerable for his sufferings, as well as for his being the true heir to the English throne; but Rufus thinking he had nothing to apprehend from him, treated him with a generous confidence. William himself was on bad terms with his brothers; and by the complexion of his history, it seems as if some of their partizans had spread a notion that he intended to adopt young Edgar for his heir, having no issue of his own. It was likewise more than insinuated, that Edgar Atheling had been the adviser of this measure; and an Englishman, whose name, according to Fordun, was Orgar, boldly accused Atheling of practices to advance his nephew to that succession, with a view of himself being regent during his minority. Rufus either believed,

Edgar Atheling's history continued.

or

A.D. 1093. or seemed to believe the charge, but required legal proofs of Atheling's guilt. As those could not be produced, Orgar insisting upon, and Edgar denying, the charge, the barbarous laws of the times rendered a single combat unavoidable between the two parties. If we may believe Fordun, the whole weight of William's authority was on the side of Orgar, who was one of the strongest and most active men in the nation; and though Edgar's age allowed him to be defended by the arm of another, yet none was found bold or generous enough, through fear of the royal indignation, to become his champion, till one Godwin of Winchester, whose family had been under obligations to Edgar, or his ancestors, offered to be his substitute in the combat. The day accordingly was appointed; the proper oaths were administered; and, all the pompous parade of arms being finished, the combatants engaged. Fordun has given us a description of the combat so minute and exact, that I am apt to think Turgot, or some author from whom he had it, has taken it from the life. It is sufficient here to say, that Godwin was victorious; and Orgar, when dying, confessed his guilt. The conqueror, as customary, obtained all the lands of his adversary. The victory of Godwin was interpreted, by the king and all his court, as the visible manifestation of heaven in favour of Edgar; and William and he,

he, ever after, lived in the most intimate friendship. A.D. 1094.

This combat, immaterial as the success was for clearing Atheling, produced wonderful effects in favour of young Edgar, and his two brothers, who were likewise at the English court. Their party began to revive in Scotland; and Donald had recourse to an expedient which he seems to have planned before, that of calling in the Danes and Norwegians for the support of his government; for which they were to be indemnified by his ceding to them the Orkney and Shetland Islands, then subject to the kings of Scotland, and very possibly the appenage of Donald himself, before he usurped the throne. Magnus, who was king of Norway at this time, after actually taking possession of the Islands, marched a body of troops to the assistance of Donald. Those barbarians, as usual, became so insolent, that in a short time they were more hated than the English had ever been by the Scots, who complained that they saw their country in danger of becoming a province to Norway.

Cession of
the Orkney
islands
to the king
of Norway.

We know not what the real sentiments of Rufus were at this juncture; but I am inclined to think he did not seriously intend that young Edgar should succeed to the crown. A natural son, named Duncan, of the late Malcolm, had been sent a hostage into England; and having been made a knight by Rufus, he was serving

A. D. 1096.

were of great service in warlike expeditions; and when Edgar came to Durham, the burying-place of Cuthbert, that saint appeared to him, and promised him success, provided he repaired next day to his church, and received his banner from the hands of the canons; which Edgar accordingly did. The truth is, the Scots would have effected the restoration of Edgar, had not the good saint interposed; for they abandoned Donald at the appearance of the English troops. They were headed by Robert, son of that Godwin who had so bravely defended Atheling; and, tho' only two thousand in number, after obtaining a bloodless victory, they forced the usurper to an inglorious flight. He was pursued so closely, that he was taken and brought before young Edgar, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died.

Edgar.

Edgar, having mounted the throne of his ancestors, proved a grateful votary to St. Cuthbert, by the vast presents he made to his church, as we shall see in the ecclesiastical part of this history. Upon the death of William Rufus, his brother, Henry the first, became king of England, though Robert, duke of Normandy, who was elder brother to both, was still alive. Christina, sister to Edgar Atheling, had by this time professed herself a nun in the monastery of Wilton, into which she carried her niece, young Matil-

A. D. 1098.

Matilda, sister to Edgar, now king of Scotland. As it was highly improbable that Edgar Atheling could have any issue, and as his nephew never thought of putting in any claim to the English crown, as the male representative of the Anglo-Saxon royal blood, Henry thought that his marriage with young Matilda, a beautiful and an accomplished princess, would strengthen his title to the crown. Some devotees of the time opposed the marriage, under pretence of Matilda's having been a professed nun. Henry's situation with his clergy did not admit of his disobliging the haughty Anselm, then archbishop of Canterbury; but as the princess herself was far from being averse to the match, she gave her royal lover all the information he could desire for removing the objection. She absolutely denied her ever having taken the veil; she said, that her aunt had obliged her sometimes to wear a piece of black cloth, to cover her face from the insolence of the Norman soldiers, but that as soon as her aunt was absent, she always threw it away; and that her father often declared he designed her to be a wife, and not a nun. Her information (for Christina seems by this time to have been dead) was laid before Anselm, who called a synod before he would give any decision; but the cause being fully heard, and the lady's case being drawn up by the archdeacons of Canterbury and Salisbury, and confirmed by the nuns, sentence passed

in

A. D. 1100.

Henry I.
marries his
sister.

in favour of the marriage, which was celebrated with the greatest pomp and national satisfaction, in November 1100.

Such is the account which William of Malmfbury and other old English historians give of this famous marriage. Matthew Paris has not treated it in so favourable a light. He says that the princess herself was averse to it; but was afterwards prevailed on to consent by the importunities and flattery of her friends, who told her that the marriage was the only means of saving the blood of both nations, and restoring them to lasting tranquility. He adds, however, that she consented with so much reluctance, on account of having been professed a nun, that she devoted the fruit of her womb to the devil. This relation of Paris carries with it all the marks of an infernal, misguided zeal, and is expressly contradicted by the proceedings of the synod, and the archbishop.

The match strongly cemented the good understanding between the crowns of Scotland and England; and the English writers themselves acknowledge, that Edgar continued to the time of his death, a faithful ally to Henry. The intercourse between them has given rise to some monks, zealous for the superiority of the kingdom and church of England over those of Scotland, to forge certain writings, by which Edgar acknowledges, "that he held the kingdom of Scotland by gift of his lord William,
king

An English
forgery.

king of England; and with consent of his said lord, he gives to God Almighty, and the church of Durham, and to the glorious bishop St. Cuthbert, and to bishop William, and to the monks of Durham, and their successors, the mansions of Berwic and Coldingham, with several other lands possessed by his father Malcolm: and this charter is granted in the presence of bishop William, and Turgot, the prior; and confirmed by the crosses of Edgar his brother, and other nobleman." That this pretended charter is a forgery appears from the original not being producible, and from the copy of it printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* in the following manner: "In the days of William the first, king of England (viz. the Conqueror) and of William bishop of Durham, Edgar, king of Scotland, made a grant to St. Cuthbert, and to the church of Durham, of Coldinghamshire, and of the tenure following." Now it is certain that William the Conqueror had been dead ten years before Edgar came to the throne of Scotland; and that William, bishop of Durham, was not alive at the time the charter is supposed to have been granted. Besides those two indisputable evidences of its forgery, many others might be produced; but they are unnecessary. The like intemperate zeal has prompted another forgery of the same kind, under the seal of Edgar on horseback, with a sword in his right hand, and a shield

on

A.D. 1100. on his left arm, within a bordure of France. This last circumstance is a sufficient proof of its forgery, as in the same repository there are five undoubted genuine charters of the same Edgar, who, on his seal, is represented sitting on two swords planted a-cross, with a scepter in one hand, a sword in the other, a royal diadem on his head, and an inscription round, *Scotorum Basileus*, which the best English antiquaries admit to have been a title denoting independency. I shall not mispend the reader's time in mentioning other forgeries of the same nature, which are acknowledged by the most judicious historians, and suspected by the most credulous.

Notwithstanding the great troubles raised both in France and England against Henry the first, Edgar never could be persuaded to take part against his brother-in-law; and what is still more extraordinary, he remained firm to his engagements even after Henry had been deserted by Atheling, to whom his nephew Edgar owed so much. Atheling, though now old and infirm, seems never to have been at rest; but we are in the dark as to many particulars of his fortune. It is certain, that before his death, he left the party of Henry the first, and joined that of duke Robert, who was entirely defeated at the battle of Tinchebray, in Normandy, and taken prisoner, together with Atheling. According to William of Malmbury,

bury, the latter had paid a visit to the Holy Land, and had refused many advantageous offers from several European powers, that he might end his days peaceably in England. It is well known with what severity Henry treated his elder brother Robert, during his captivity: but his affection for his queen, and his regard for Edgar, prevailed with him to suffer Atheling to enjoy his favourite wish; for he was set at liberty, and returning to England he there finished his life. It is uncertain, whether he survived his nephew Edgar, who, after a happy and peaceable reign of nine years and three months, died at Dundee, in 1107, and was buried at Dumfermling.

Edgar was succeeded by his brother Alexander, surnamed, from his impetuosity, the Fierce. It must be acknowledged, that the Scotch historians have been scandalously neglectful of this prince's history, and its chronology. It appears, that upon his accession to the throne, his subjects were so ignorant of his true character, on account of his piety and devotion, that the Northern parts were soon filled with ravages and bloodshed, the inseparable concomitants of the feudal institutions. It happened fortunately for the royal authority, that those differences were so deeply rooted in the breasts of the parties, that they seldom or never could be persuaded to join in opposing the king's power; and this circumstance was, in fact, its chief sup-

Alexander
the Fierce.

A. D. 1108.

port. Alexander instantly raised an army, marched into Murray and Ross-shire, attacked the insurgents separately; and having subdued them all, he ordered numbers of the most powerful among them to be executed. Upon his return from this expedition, in passing through the Merns, he met with a widow who complained that her husband and son had been put to death by the young earl their superior. Alexander immediately alighted from his horse, and swore he would not remount him till he had enquired into the justice of the complaint; and finding it to be true, the offender was hanged in his presence.

Conspiracy
against him.

Though those seasonable examples prevented all attempts towards an open rebellion, yet they occasioned many private conspiracies among the more abandoned part of his subjects, who had been accustomed to live under a remiss government. We accordingly find that a fresh conspiracy broke out against Alexander, while he was engaged in building the castle of Baledgar, so called in compliment to his brother Edgar, who had laid the foundation-stone. This castle lay in the carse of Gowry, which we are told, had formerly belonged to Donald Bane; but afterwards came to the crown, either by donation or forfeiture. The situation of this castle was particularly convenient for the suppression of the robberies which were frequent in the neighbourhood; but the

con-

conspirators bribed one of his bed-chamber men to introduce them at night into the king's bed-chamber. Alexander hearing a noise, drew his sword, dispatched six of them, and by the help of Alexander Carron escaped the danger, by flying to Fife. According to Sir James Balfour's manuscript *Annals*, the conspirators chiefly resided in the Merns, to which Alexander once more marched with an army; but they retired across the Spey. Alexander pursued them to the banks of that river; and if the Scotch historians have not confounded this expedition with one of the same nature already related, he would have plunged into the river to pass it, had he not been restrained by Carron, who bravely attacked the rebels, defeated them, and brought all who fell into his hands to public justice. Carron, from his valour in this battle, was called Skrimgeour, or Skrimzeour, which is no other than the English word Skirmisher, or Fighter.

It was probably after he had reduced his kingdom to some order by those vigorous proceedings, that Alexander paid a visit to his brother-in-law, Henry the first of England, who had just married his daughter to the emperor of Germany. Henry was at that time planting a colony of Flemings upon the borders of Wales, in order to keep that turbulent people in awe, as well as to introduce into his kingdom the manufactures for which the Flemings were then

He visits
England.

A.D. 1113.

famous. The Welch were impatient at this growing colony, and had broken out into some hostilities in 1113, while Alexander was in England. They had proved victorious over the earl of Chester and Gilbert Strongbow, the two most powerful of the English subjects; and Alexander, by virtue of the fealty he had sworn for his English possessions, readily agreed to lead an army into North-Wales, where the strength of the Welch lay. Their heads were, Owen ap Cadogan; Griffith, the prince of North-Wales, who disclaimed all subjection to, or alliance with, Henry; Meredith ap Blethyn, and Owen ap Edwin. Henry, who was then on very doubtful terms with the crown of France and his Norman barons, depended solely on Alexander for the success of this expedition; but he took the field in person. Alexander, being joined by the earl of Chester, entered North-Wales, and defeated Owen ap Edwin, whom he pursued as far as Penant-Bachwy; but though he reduced him to the greatest straits, Edwin escaped to Griffith, the prince of North-Wales, with whom he was closely allied. Henry, with the division which he commanded, was not so successful as Alexander, whose troops were far better fitted, than his were, for such an expedition; for having advanced as far as Murcastle, he found that he had lost two-thirds of his army, with almost his whole baggage, by fatigue, famine, or the attacks

attacks of the enemy. The politic Henry, upon this, raised a jealousy between the two Welch princes, that each was tampering either with himself or Alexander; and he employed the earl of Chester and Meredith, who had submitted to him, to promote the division. The event was, that Henry was forced to restore Owen to all his lands, and to give Griffith a large sum of money. The Scotch historians are entirely silent with regard to this remarkable expedition; and, indeed, when we consider the manner in which it is related by the English, there is the strongest reason to believe, that the success or presence of Alexander were the chief inducements, not only for the Welch, but with Henry himself, to conclude the peace.

In the year 1118 died Matilda, queen of England, and daughter to Malcolm Canmore. Her virtues and moderation were conspicuous; but Malmesbury has charged her memory with being over-liberal to foreign musicians, which induced her sometimes to oppress her tenants; every queen of England, in those days, being possessed of a separate estate, even during her husband's life-time. Her marriage with Henry undoubtedly contributed greatly to the tranquility of his government in England, and even to the keeping the crown upon his head. Upon her death, which happened on the 30th of April, the care of her funeral was committed to the

A. D. 1113.

1118.

A.D. 1118. the sheriffs of London, who, by an original roll which still remains, charged the crown with fifteen shillings and two pence half-penny for oil expended in burning upon her tomb, and with three shillings for cloth to cover the same.

123.
Adventure
of Alex-
ander.
The rest of Alexander's reign was spent in civil and ecclesiastical duties. But I cannot here omit a very singular adventure which befel him about the year 1123. Being about to pass the frith of Forth, a violent tempest arose, which drove him upon the Isle of Oëmona, (since called Inchcolm, which I have already mentioned to have been the burying-place of the Danes) with his attendants. This island contained then no other inhabitants than a hermit, who lived in St. Columb's chapel, and subsisted on the milk of one cow, and a few shell-fish, which he gathered on the strand, or from the hollows of the rocks. The hospitable hermit shared his homely fare with the king for three days, the storm continuing so long, and cutting off all communication between the island and the main land. Alexander, during his distress, made a vow to build a religious house upon the place of his residence; and he accordingly afterwards erected and endowed an abbey there for canons regular. Many were his works of the same kind; for he finished the church of Dumfermling; and he gave the lands of Boarrinke, so called from a monstrous

monstrous mischievous boar there slain, to the church of St. Andrew's. In short, Alexander equalled any of his predecessors in acts of munificence to the church, reigned seventeen years and twenty-one days, and, dying a batchelor, was buried at Dumfermling in 1124. Ælred, abbot of Riedual, who was cotemporary with Alexander, says, that he was affable and humble to the monks and clergy, but inexpressibly terrible to his other subjects; that his spirit in all his undertakings was far above his strength; and that he was a learned prince. From this character we may safely conclude, that Alexander was eaten up with zeal for the clergy.

A.D. 1123.

His death
and cha-
racter.

1124.

Alexander the Fierce was succeeded by his younger brother, David, who, with his sister, queen Matilda, had his education in England. He married Maud, the daughter of Waltheof, by Judith, the niece of William the Conqueror; and David became afterwards possessed of the great earldoms of Huntingdom and Northumberland; so that he was, at the time of his accession to the crown of Scotland, the most powerful subject in England. He cultivated his family-friendship with Henry the first of England; and having early foreseen the opposition which his niece, the empress Maud (who, by the death of her elder brother, was then heiress to the crown of England) would encounter, he took an oath to maintain her and
her

David.

A.D. 1124.

her issue in that succession. This he did on a motive of principle; for Stephen, who was her antagonist, was David's kinsman by his younger sister, Mary, wife to Eustace earl of Boulogne. Upon the death of Henry, Stephen seized the crown of England, together with the royal treasures; and his progress was so rapid, that the party of the empress was quite overborne, and numbers of her friends took refuge in Scotland. David not only gave them a hospitable reception, but raised an army, with which he marched into England, seized upon Carlisle and Newcastle, and obliged the nobility in the north of England to give hostages for their fidelity to the empress and her young son, afterwards Henry the second. The truth is, that David was assisted in his progress during this irruption by the affection which the northern nobility bore to the cause of the empress; but, in order to form a true idea of David's conduct, it is necessary to make a short review of the state of affairs in England at that time.

Takes part
with the
empress
Maud.

Stephen earl of Boulogne was third son to the earl of Blois and Boulogne, by William the Conqueror's daughter. The eldest brother was disabled by nature from the management of affairs; the second brother was earl of Blois, and a competitor for the duchy of Normandy; and Stephen, having long resided in England, demanded that crown, while the empress and her son were set aside from the succession in a great

great council of the peers, without (so far as A. D. 1135; appears from history) a contradictory vote. The reasons pretended for this step were, her being married to a needy foreign prince, who, Progress of David in her right, might lay claim to the government of England; and her father Henry having, on his death-bed, repented his appointing her to the succession. The empress and her son were at that time lying wind-bound in a French harbour, which prevented her party from openly declaring in her favour; but this had no influence upon David. He was preparing to march southward, when Stephen, hearing that he was master of Carlisle and Newcastle upon Tyne, but not of Bamborough, swore that he would recover by arms what David had seized by treachery, meaning, by his making use of Maud's name and authority. With incredible diligence he raised an army, just as David, having seized upon Alnwick and Norham, was preparing to besiege Durham, though the winter was then far advanced.

All this time, the empress and her party had and Stephen. not declared her title to the crown of England; and her natural brother, Robert earl of Gloucester, who, next to David, was thought to be the greatest support of her interest, had provisionally recognized Stephen's title. Those appearances, with the uninterrupted successes of Stephen, seem to have startled David, who, perhaps, thought he had gone too far. Stephen,

A.D. 1136. phen, on the other hand, having advanced as far as Durham, was certainly apprehensive of the fate of a battle, which, if it went against him, must shake his throne, and sent to know the demands of David. These were, that he should receive the investiture of the earldom of Huntingdon; that he should keep Carlisle and Doncaster; and that his son Henry, in right of his mother, should be put in possession of the earldom of Northumberland. Stephen agreed to all those demands except the last, which he referred to the decision of his great council, because of the opposition made to it by some of his subjects. The rest of the treaty was executed on both parts. A great difficulty, however, still subsisted, how David should get over his oath in favour of Maud's succession; but this was removed, by his giving the investiture of all his English estates to his son Henry, who accordingly performed homage to Stephen. When the whole of this transaction is considered, the prudence of David is but barely reconcileable to his honour, if he gave Stephen reason to believe that he had entirely abandoned the interest of his niece the empress.

A Treaty.

The prince of Scotland was then the representative of the old Anglo-Saxon kings, to whom the English had still a strong affection. Stephen therefore treated him with all the honours due to the first prince of the blood, and thought

thought he gained a capital point, by prevailing with Henry to attend him to London, and appear at his court at Westminster. The difficulties which the profusion of Stephen, and the opposition he began now to meet with, threw him into; probably prevented his gratifying the prince of Scotland in his demands upon the earldom of Northumberland, which was become a capital object with the chief of the English nobility. The prior of Hexham, a cotemporary author, informs us, that at the festivity of Easter, Stephen placed prince Henry on his right hand; which occasioned the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Chester, and other peers, to speak contemptuously of the young man, and to withdraw from court. Notwithstanding the profusion of honours heaped upon Henry, David saw through Stephen's motives, and that he kept his son about his person only to overawe the empress and her party. Henry applied with indefatigable assiduity to have his claim upon Northumberland discussed; but meeting with frivolous delays, David ordered him to leave the English court, which he did; and he accordingly returned to Scotland without the investiture.

Stephen's affairs having called him to Normandy, he was there alarmed with an account, sent him by his English regency, of a conspiracy formed by the old English, to place

A.D. 1136.

Conspiracy
against Ste-
phen.

David (but more probably prince Henry) upon his throne. This information received some countenance from the fresh preparations making in Scotland for invading England, on account of the non-performance of the treaty of Durham. I cannot, however, perceive, how that non-performance could be construed into a just motive for this second invasion; because the affair did not lie in the breast of Stephen, but in the peers of his court. Be this as it may, while David was busied in his preparations, and when more than half of England seemed disposed to join him and his son, they received a message from Thurstan, the aged archbishop of York, begging that they would give him a meeting at Roxburgh, which lies near the borders of the two kingdoms. The voice of piety and religion was always decisive with David; and the venerable character of Thurstan prevailed with him and his son to postpone their expedition till Stephen's arrival in England, which happened in December 1137. He had been so successful in Normandy, that he had nothing to fear from that quarter; and when David's deputies demanded the investiture of Northumberland for their prince, he absolutely refused their request in very high terms. By this time David had built the castle of Carlisle; and from the narratives of the English historians it appears, that a number of their greatest men considered

David

David as their true king; and Milo de Beauchamp, governor of the castle of Bedford, actually declared himself in his favour. Whether David fell in with their sentiments is not certain; nor have we any foundation in history to support the affirmative, because he always professed a strong attachment to the empress. Stephen, however, seems to have thought that David had an eye upon his crown; for, tho' it was then in the midst of winter, he raised an army, and, without regard to the sanctity of the time, he took the castle of Bedford on Christmas-day.

If David had any views for himself upon the crown of England, Stephen's alacrity and expedition disconcerted them. The Scots had laid siege to Wark, and were commanded by William, grand nephew to David, who had been joined by many of the English barons. As Wark was at that time a place of importance, David pressed it furiously; but hearing of Stephen's success in the South, he raised the siege, and penetrated into Northumberland. Stephen marched northward to oppose him; and, upon David's retreating, he was so incautious as to expose his army to be either starved or cut in pieces; which had almost happened at Roxburgh, where David had taken up so strong a camp, that Stephen could not force it. On this occasion David displayed great abilities, because
he

David's wars
in England,

A.D. 1137.

He worſts
Stephen,

He gained time for his niece's party, who were in arms in the South; and Stephen was forced to make a precipitate retreat southward, after losing half his army. The empress Maud, and her son prince Henry, had now claimed the crown of England; and the earl of Gloucester, having publicly renounced his allegiance to Stephen, declared himself of their party; But David had difficulties to encounter he had not foreseen. Though he was at the head of thirty thousand men, and tho' he himself was a generous humane prince, yet they were commanded by other chiefs, whose hatred of the English led them into barbarities which David could not prevent; and thereby he lost the hearts of the inhabitants. It must be acknowledged, that the Scotch historians are blameable, in not having properly availed themselves of the excellent lights communicated by the cotemporary authors of this time. From them it is plain, that the northern barons continued to be totally averse to David's receiving the investiture of Northumberland, for this plain reason, that their distance from the seat of government rendered them almost independent on the crown of England, and they dreaded the residence of a Scotch prince among them. Upon the retreat of Stephen southwards, he found the confederacy against him very strong, and that many of his greatest subjects had renounced their allegiance to him, on pretext

of

of his having broken his coronation oath, by disseizing his English subjects of their franchises, and by the encouragement he gave to foreigners. Stephen, as an answer to their complaints, reduced the castles of Hereford, Dover, Shrewsbury, and others, which had declared against him. To counterbalance those advantages, David, after Easter, in 1138, again invaded the bishopric of Durham; but he was vigorously opposed by the Northumbrian nobility, not from any affection they bore to Stephen's person or title, but from the causes above specified. Among them we have the names of Robert de Bruce, and his brother, whose descendants make so illustrious a figure in the annals of Scotland. The earl of Alhermarle, Walter de Gaunt, and Walter Espee, renowned for his military prowess, were in the number of David's enemies. The head of the Mowbray family (though but a boy) gave a sanction to the cause; but old archbishop Thurstan was the soul and spirit of the whole. York was appointed to be the place of rendezvous, and their meeting was opened with an animated speech, made by that prelate.

A.D. 1137.

1138.

and again invades England.

There is no dissembling that the barbarities committed by David's troops gave but too just a handle to the hatred with which the archbishop inspired the northern barons against the Scots. David had lately reduced the town of
of

A.D. 1138.

of Norham, which belonged to the bishop of Durham, to whom he offered to restore it, provided he would renounce his allegiance to Stephen. His offer was rejected, and he demolished the castle. In the mean time, the English army had advanced from York to Clithero, and David sent his grand-nephew, William, to command against them. William was so successful, that he cut to pieces the van-guard of their army, and destroyed their country with a barbarity that served only to exasperate the inhabitants the more. David again besieged Wark; but hearing of William's successful expedition, he left the siege to be carried on by some of his general officers; and calling in his troops under William, he marched to Yorkshire, with a resolution to fight a decisive battle, if the English should keep the field. Being joined by Eustace Fitz John, who delivered up to him the strong castle of Alnwick, he passed the Tine; but such was the consternation of the English barons, from their defeat at Clithero, that he found no enemy in the field. His army then consisted of twenty-six thousand men; and Robert de Bruce, with Bernard de Baliol, who held great possessions in Scotland as well as in England, were sent by the northern barons to prevail with him to withdraw from the bishopric of Durham, where he then lay; in which case they promised to do their utmost in procuring him

him the investiture of Northumberland. A proposition so advantageous, and so honourable, must have prevailed with a prince of less rigid principles than David; and we are told he would have accepted of them, had they not been opposed by his general and grand-nephew, William, who reproached Bruce as a traitor, and confirmed David in his resolution to postpone all other considerations to his engagements with his niece the empress. The negociation being thus at an end, the two deputies renounced their allegiance to David, which, in the language of those times, was called defying him.

Cotemporary historians insinuate the ravages of the Scots to have been so barbarous, that they united the English against them. The prince of Scotland, however, is described by them as a most amiable personage, brave, generous, and compassionate; distinguished for the beauty of his figure; affable, yet awful; and possessed of every virtue. Such is the character given of him by Ælred, abbot of Riedual, to whom he was personally known; and therefore we cannot well distrust his authority. All, therefore, we can say, in alleviation of the barbarities committed by the troops under his command, is, that he either could not prevent them, or that he had conceived so strong a hatred of the English, that he thought it not criminal to distress them. Upon the re-

A.D. 1138. turn of the English deputies to their army, they found it encamped at Thurstan-castle, and that it had received great reinforcements from the southern parts, particularly from Nottingham and Derbyshire. A new association was entered into against the Scots; and they advanced to Northallerton, where the famous standard was produced. Its body was a kind of box, which moved upon wheels, from whence the mast of a ship arose, surmounted by a silver cross, and round it were hung the banners of St. Peter, St. John de Beverly, and St. Wilfred. Those standards were then common on the continent of Europe, and were never brought into the field but on the most important occasions.

Battle of the
Standard.

Thurstan continued to command the English army; but being worn out by age and infirmities, he resigned his command to Ralph, bishop of the Orkneys, who is, by Matthew Paris, and other English historians, called the bishop of Durham. The English in general had an incredible confidence in the fortune of their standard, and its supernatural efficacy; but the vast advantage they had over their enemies, in point of armour, gave them a more solid ground to hope for success. Both armies met together on a plain called Cutton-Moor. The first line of the Scots, according to the prior of Hexham, was composed of Picts (for so he calls them) who inhabited Galloway, Carric, Kyle, Cunningham,

nīngham, and Renfrew. This abbot's testimony is an irrefragable evidence of what I have already asserted, that the race of the Picts still subsisted; and that though they had a prince of their own, he was a feudatory to David. The second line or center of his army consisted of Lothian men, by which we are to understand his English as well as Scotch subjects south of the Forth, together with the English and Normans of Maud's party. The third line was formed of the clans under their different chieftains, but subject to no regular command, and always impatient to return to their own country with their booty. The English army ranged themselves round their standard, and quitted their horses, not only to shew their resolution to die or conquer, but to avoid engaging at too great a disadvantage with the long lances of the Picts. Their front line was intermixed with archers, and a body of cavalry, ready for pursuit, hovered at some distance. The Picts, besides their lances, made use of targets; but when the English closed with them, they were soon disordered, and driven back upon the center, where David commanded in person. Here his brave son made a gallant resistance; but the third line seems never to have fought. David seeing the day irretrievable, ordered some of his troops to save themselves, by throwing away their badges, and mingling with the English. From this particular we may conclude, that

A. D. 1138.

David retreats.

the Normans and English of Maud's party wore particular cognizances; but he that as it may, David made a most noble retreat to Carlisle.

When he arrived there, his son was missing, and he concluded that he had been killed; but in a few days he arrived with part of the division that he headed. The Scotch and English historians have run into opposite extremes with regard to this battle. The former most unpardonably make no mention of it, though no fact in history is better attested; and the latter undoubtedly magnify the loss of the Scots, when they say it amounted to ten thousand men, and that the defeat was total. This was so far from being the case, that David was not pursued, and the victorious army was unable to keep the field; for we find that, soon after the battle, David took the strong castle of Wark, which had so long resisted his arms, and Stephen's party employed Albert, bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate, to negotiate a peace; but all that he could obtain, was a truce till the 11th of November.

1139.

The war continues.

In the beginning of the year 1139, we find David still at the head of his army, and Stephen marching to Scotland to fight him. In the intermediate time, during Stephen's absence in Normandy, his wife Matilda, one of the best women of that age, had laboured so incessantly with David for peace, that the terms

terms were agreed on; and while Stephen was on his march, he received messengers from David with a copy of the preliminaries, which were ratified by Stephen, and a definitive treaty was concluded. By this treaty, Henry prince of Scotland was put in possession of Huntingdon and Northumberland, and took an oath of fealty to Stephen, whom he certainly attended to the siege of Ludlow; but whether as a hostage or a volunteer is somewhat doubtful. It must be confessed, that the relations even of the English historians, though living at the time, are obscure, especially as they have not related the precise terms of the treaty; and the events are far from agreeing with the superiority they ascribe to Stephen. I am inclined to think, that prince Henry of Scotland considered his own cause as different from that of the empress, or even of his own father; and that he attended Stephen to Ludlow-castle as one of his military tenants. The prince gained the affections of Stephen in a most distinguished manner; for when he was in danger of being hooked into the castle by one of the besieged's grappling-irons, he was disengaged by Stephen in person. It does not enter within my present scheme to relate the various operations of the war in England, between the empress and Stephen, farther than as they regard the history of Scotland.

A. D. 1139.

A peace.

Stephen was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, where no mention is made of David;

A. D. 1139.

1141.

David's fidelity to the empress.

so that the realm of Scotland probably continued in a state of tranquility during the critical year 1141, when the affairs of Stephen were desperate. David was then in England, and continued still to be the main prop, as well as the wise counsellor, of his niece the empress; but her haughtiness and perverseness broke through all his schemes. When she was on the point of being recognized by the Londoners, she madly refused to suffer them to be governed by the laws of king Edward. David and the earl of Gloucester remonstrated against her imprudence, which had almost cost her son the crown of England; for the Londoners drove her from their city, and it was with difficulty that David carried her to Oxford, and from thence to Winchester. There, her ingratitude and passion exceeded all bounds. She upbraided David for controuling her will, and put herself into the hands of Milo earl of Hereford. Even this affront did not shake the fidelity of David; but while he remained with the empress at Winchester, which was besieged by Stephen's generals, he seems to have divested himself of all command in the army, and to have served as a volunteer under the earl of Gloucester, in covering the famous retreat of the army from Winchester to Luggershal in Wiltshire. This retreat, which saved the person of the empress, was conducted with no more than two hundred men, and performed with most amazing courage and conduct,

duct, in sight of a victorious and superior army. A. D. 1141.
 It was, however, impracticable to keep them longer together; and after the empress had reached Luggershal in safety, David and his friend, the earl of Gloucester, prepared to make their escape. The latter was taken prisoner; but David marched northwards, by the fidelity of David Oliphant. He was now the chief object of Stephen's attention, who had been made a captive by the party of the empress, but was exchanged for the earl of Gloucester. I shall therefore confine my narrative to the illustrious part which the Scots acted in this important quarrel. He escapes.

David's regard for the empress was far from rendering him unmindful of his own family-interest. Upon his return to the North, he found it in a very flourishing condition; for his son was in possession of all Northumberland, the earldom of Huntingdon, and a large estate in the bishopric of Durham, which he received when he gave up the possession of that city. Stephen raised an army with great expedition, and ordered it to rendezvous at York, with an intention to invade David's dominions; but he found him so well provided for a defence, that he was forced to return to Northampton about Whitsuntide, in 1142, leaving the kingdom of Scotland in tranquility. The war went on all this while with great fierceness in the southern parts of England, as well

- A.D. 1142. as in Normandy, while David was entirely employed in giving strength and stability to his kingdom; but by the unpardonable neglect of the Scotch historians, we know little of the particulars. The party of the empress, 1146. in the year 1146, received an irreparable blow by the death of the earls of Gloucester and Hereford; and her affairs were brought so low, partly by that, and partly by her own misconduct, that she was forced to return to Normandy in 1147. During her absence, Stephen appears to have granted to David the great earldom of Cambridge, as part of that of Huntingdon, which had devolved upon him by his wife, the daughter of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland. I have already mentioned the vast difficulties which David and his son encountered, before they obtained the investiture of Northumberland; and impartiality calls upon me to state the rise of those difficulties in as clear a manner as possible.

Case of the
earldom of
Northum-
berland.

There can be no doubt that Henry the first gave to David some of his wife's father's estates, under certain restrictions; but this seems to have been a personal favour done to David, without restoring the blood of Waltheof; for his daughter, at the time of her marriage with David, had a son alive by a former husband, Simon de Senlys. The succession to the earldoms of Northumberland, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, came therefore to David by a quite different

A.D. 1147.

different tenure from that to Cumberland and Westmoreland, the investiture of which was granted by the crown of England to the heirs apparent of Scotland; and, upon the whole, I am inclined to believe, that the grant was originally made to David. His possession of them, however, was (as we have already seen) far from being undisturbed; and proofs are to be found in the English records, that even his niece the empress thought him too powerful, either as a subject or a neighbour, notwithstanding the great obligations she lay under to his friendship. Almerie de Vere had become one of the greatest supports of the empress, and she promised to grant him the investiture of the earldom of Cambridge, with the third penny, as usual, of the rents of the county, provided she could prevail with David to exchange it for another. If she could not prevail, she was to give him his option of the counties of Oxford, Berks, Wilts, and Dorset. As de Vere was afterwards made earl of Oxfordshire, it is probable that the empress failed in her application. David was at this time, indeed, too powerful to be compelled to a compliance; and was lying with an army at Carlisle, of which he still kept possession.

In 1149, young Henry of Anjou, though not fifteen years of age, prevailed with the empress his mother, and his father Geoffrey Plantagenet, to send him over to England with

1149.

A. D. 1149.

a small body of troops, to make good his family-claim to that crown. He landed with only a hundred and forty horse, and three thousand foot; but his great dependence was on his grand-uncle, David, whom he joined at Carlisle. According to the custom of those times, he received the order of knighthood from the hands of David, assisted by the earl of Chester. The last-mentioned nobleman, one of the most ambitious and faithless in England, had never lived on good terms with David; and at this time complained of his keeping possession of Carlisle, which he pretended belonged of right to the earls of Chester. This breach might have proved fatal to young Henry's cause, had it not been compromised by the intervention of friends; and it was agreed that the earl should be put in possession of Lancaster, while David was to keep Carlisle; and that in the mean time the former should raise his followers in the South, and join David and his grand-nephew. The earl was insincere in this reconciliation; for he no sooner left Carlisle, than he sought to make his terms with the opposite party. Stephen was then marching northwards, at the head of a great army, intending to fight David and Henry; but though they had met with a severe disappointment from the earl of Chester, they took their measures so well, that the summer passed without any action.

Next

Next year we find young Henry in Normandy, but David still remained at Carlisle. In 1152, he met with a severe loss in the death of his eldest son, prince Henry. The Scotch historians have, upon this occasion, put into David's mouth a most pious, edifying speech to his nobility, which I shall forbear to transcribe, because compositions of that kind are generally works of the author. Prince Henry left behind him three sons, Malcolm, William, and David; and three daughters, Adama, Margaret, and Maud. David ordered Malcolm to be immediately proclaimed prince of Scotland; and he is said to have given the earldom of Northumberland to William. We know of no concern which David took in the affairs of England, during the year 1153, when an agreement took place between king Stephen and prince Henry, by which the latter was to succeed the former in the throne of England upon his death.

A. D. 1150.

1152.

Death of
Prince
Henry of
Scotland.

1153.

David was now old, and worn out with fatigues. Finding his end approaching, he prepared to meet it with the most exemplary acts of devotion, and ordered himself to be carried to church, where he received the sacrament, refusing to suffer it to be brought to him. Upon his return he expired, with a wish, to enter the kingdom where all the inhabitants were kings. He died at Carlisle, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1153, after a glorious reign of

David's
death,

A. D. 1153.

twenty-nine years, two months, and three days, and was buried at Dumfermling, with great pomp and splendor.

and character.

That David was an excellent warrior and an able politician, appears from every step of his long reign, as well as the power and splendor in which he left his dominions at his death. I have already mentioned his attachment to his niece the empress, and examined the principles on which he acted. He is, perhaps, less defensible in his unbounded liberality to the clergy, by his erecting four new bishoprics, nine capital abbeys, four priories, and two nunneries, all which shall be particularized in the ecclesiastical history. It is more to my purpose, here, to observe, that their annual revenues amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand francs; an immense sum for those days. On the other hand, we are not to make an estimate of David from the poverty into which the crown of Scotland afterwards fell. His revenues were very little, if at all, short of those of England, and his troops were far more easily maintained; so that his endowments were not extravagant, when we consider his income. But a stronger plea may be urged in favour of David's profusion to the church, when we reflect, that it was perhaps the only means he could employ for the civilization of his people; that ecclesiastics were then the vehicles of all instruction, governmental, religious, and





MALCOLM IV.

and moral; that though some were lazy, A.D. 1153.
lewd, and ignorant, yet many of them were
men of understanding and virtue; and that the
crown afterwards received considerable support
from these very endowments.

David is said to have given directions for
compiling the *Regiam Majestatem*; but the
English writers endeavour to prove, that it
was copied from their judge Glanville. We
shall have hereafter occasion to examine that
point, on which specious arguments have been
advanced by both parties. All I shall here ob-
serve is, that David was a prince very likely to
have formed a code of this kind; and by his
residence, connections, and concerns in Eng-
land, he had all the opportunities he could have
desired for information.

Malcolm the fourth, who, from his conti-
nence, obtained the surname of the Maiden, was
no more than fifteen years of age when he suc-
ceeded his grandfather. His subjects soon felt
the difference between the two governments;
for Malcolm, besides his youth, had a natural
indolence of disposition, and gave too much
way to the monkish education he had received.
At the time of his accession, Scotland was de-
solated by a famine; and Sommerled, the am-
bitious thane of Argyle, preferred a claim to
the crown itself, at the head of a considerable
army, which daily increased by the resort of
all the needy and the profligate to his standard.

Malcolm
the fourth.

Another

A.D. 1155. Another chieftain, who is called Donald, the son of Macbeth, took arms at the same time ; but he was defeated, and shut up in the same prison with his father, though both of them were soon afterwards received into favour. Gilchrist earl of Angus, was then at the head of young Malcolm's troops, and having defeated Sommerled in three battles, he forced him to fly to Ireland. But Malcolm had now a far more powerful rival to encounter :

His transactions with England.

1156.

This was no other than Henry the second, who then sat on the throne of England, to which he had been raised principally by Malcolm's grandfather. Henry, by his marriage, was the most powerful prince in Europe, and at the same time the ablest and most ambitious. He secretly considered all the grants made by his mother, in prejudice of his crown, as proceeding from force, and therefore not binding. He thought, at the same time, that those made by Stephen were so many acts of usurpation, and he had formed a resolution to resume them all. He began by calling upon Malcolm for the restitution of Northumberland and Cumberland. His demand, as to the latter, was grossly unjust ; but as to the former, he affirmed, that David was not in possession of Northumberland at the time of Henry the first's death, and that no concession made by Stephen was valid. As those grants, however, had been ratified by the empress, in

in whose right her son Henry inherited the English crown, the demand was arbitrary; and Malcolm was weak enough to grant him a meeting at Chester. Henry had by this time given sufficient intimations of his intention, by his depriving the bishop of Glasgow of his ecclesiastical functions at Carlisle, to which town he sent another bishop. Notwithstanding this, Malcolm, depending upon Henry's gratitude, repaired to the meeting. Buchanan and other Scotch historians say, that when Henry received the order of knighthood, he solemnly swore not to disturb David, or any of his posterity, in the possession of what they held in England. Fordun is of opinion, that Malcolm's counsellors were corrupted by those of Henry; and this seems to have been the truth, because Malcolm was not then in possession of the estates which Henry demanded; for the late king David had not only given Northumberland to William, his second grandson, but had given the earldom of Huntingdon in England, and of Garioch in Scotland, to his third grandson, David. Probably Henry urged his power as lord paramount to reject David's investiture, which he had an undoubted right to do; and this seems to have determined Malcolm to resign his family claim upon the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, upon his being put in possession of the earldom of Huntingdon, and doing homage for it, in the same manner

A. D. 1159. 25. his grandfather had done before to Henry the first. This he certainly performed, though no good authority says, that the hom age was paid for all the kingdom of Scotland.

This transaction carries with it appearances of treachery on the part of the Scotch ministry. I am apt to think, that Malcolm's great tenants were well pleased to see the power of the crown weakened by their monarch's giving up Cumberland and Northumberland for the precarious revenues of Huntingdon, which lay at a great distance from his frontiers. Their suffering him to repair to Chester was likewise a capital error, as it might have been easily foreseen, that Henry would make his own terms, as soon as he had got Malcolm's person in his power. There is some reason for believing, that Malcolm became sensible, in a short time, of his mistake: Upon his return home, he found his subjects highly exasperated at the concessions he had made; and in the year 1159, Henry invited him to a new interview at Carlisle. Malcolm gave him the meeting, but Henry could not prevail upon him to agree to any of the terms he proposed. They therefore came to no conclusion; but it appears very plainly, that Malcolm, who was then but young, was either so much over-awed by Henry's arms, or so dazzled with the lustre of his court, that he attended him into England, greatly to the dissatisfaction of his principal sub-

A.D. 1159.

subjects. Henry demanded his attendance upon him in an expedition he was meditating against Thoulouse, which he claimed in right of his wife. It is uncertain, from historical authority, whether Malcolm, who was in his person very brave, and wanted to signalize himself, did not privately agree, that Henry should make this demand, to which he consented, on pretence (to save appearances with his subjects) that he had not attendants with him sufficient to dispute the will of his paramount. It is certain, that he accompanied Henry during the unfortunate campaign he made in Provence; that he behaved with the greatest valour at the siege of Thoulouse, which was relieved by the French king in person; and when Henry returned to Tours, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Malcolm, which seems to have been the principal inducement for that prince's serving under the banners of England in a foreign country.

The Scots, at this time, entertained very high notions of their ancient leagues with France; and the southern parts of Scotland being peopled by the discontented English, who never could hope to obtain their pardon from the English government, no pains were spared to give the public of Scotland very unfavourable ideas of Malcolm, for serving under Henry against his ancient and natural ally the king of France. For-

His campaign in France.

For-

A.D. 1159. us, that Malcolm's campaign in the county of Thoulouse gave a general disgust to all his subjects; and they were so much scandalized at the familiarity between him and Henry, that they sent him a deputation on that head, and even began to say among themselves, "We will not have this man to reign over us." Malcolm continued with Henry, and landed with him at Southampton, from whence he returned to Scotland, where he found the spirit of disaffection very strong. On his arrival there, his nobles were in arms under Ferchard, earl of Strathern, and five other earls, some influenced by public, and others by private, considerations. They besieged him in the town of Perth, to which he summoned a meeting of his states. This constitutional measure turned the hearts of his other subjects in his favour; and the attempts of the insurgents were, for that time, baffled. By the intervention of the clergy, a meeting of the states was held, where Malcolm pleaded, that all the concessions of territory he had made to Henry, had been extorted from him by force, and that he had served him in his war with France against his inclination. His subjects accepted of the apology, and the rather, as the kingdom was then threatened with commotions in other quarters.

Æneus, or Angus (Fordun calls him Fergus)

thane

thane of Galloway, * was then in arms; and the differences between Malcolm and his subjects had even encouraged him to declare himself a candidate for the crown. Gilchrist, the king's general (according to Boece and Buchanan), was sent against him; and Æneus being defeated, was shaved, and shut up a monk in the abbey of Holy-rood house, his life being spared at the intercession of his powerful friends. His estate, however, was confiscated, and he put his son Othred as a hostage into the king's hands. Fordun, who is more to be depended upon, tells us, that this rebellion was quelled by the king in person, without any loss on his part. This is the more probable, as the inhabitants of Murray were in arms about the same time; and rising under one Gilderminic, filled all the neighbourhood with ravages. Gilchrist, who was sent against them, was totally defeated; which exasperated Malcolm so much, that (according to Fordun) he came to a resolution to exterminate the Moravians (for so the inhabitants of Murray are called) or transplant them into other provinces. He accordingly advanced against the rebels with a strong army; and coming up to them at the river Spey, he put them all, with their leader, to the sword, without giving quarter quelled.

* Fordun calls him Regulus, which implies some degree of independency; though the princes of Galloway undoubtedly at this time paid fealty to the kings of Scotland.

A. D. 1159.

to any. A third insurrection about the same time broke out. Sommerled, who was (as we have seen) a competitor for the crown, and had been driven to Ireland by Gilchrist, in the beginning of this reign, once more landed in Scotland, with an intention, it is to be supposed, to revive his claim. He is by Fordun called the king of Argyle; but those who are acquainted with the English and northern histories know, that Sommerled is a denomination applied to all the northern nations, the Danes especially. This Sommerled seems to have been one of those roving Danish adventurers or pirates, who at that time infested the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, where possibly he might have made a temporary settlement, under the name of king. Be that as it may, he landed near Renfrew, from Ireland, with a considerable fleet and army, and began to plunder the country. His success, however, was so indifferent, that he was attacked and defeated, and (according to Fordun) slain, by a handful of the inhabitants; but, if we may credit later writers, he was taken and carried alive to the king, by whose orders he was hanged.

Those vigorous exercises of government prove Malcolm, however deficient he might be in politics, to have been personally brave and active, though he was not above twenty-three years of age. In 1161, he called together the states of his kingdom, and they voted him

him a large subsidy for marrying his eldest sister, Margaret, to Conan, duke of Brittany, and his younger sister, Ada, to Florence, earl of Holland. From this and other circumstances we may venture to conclude, that Malcolm had now entirely regained the affections of his subjects, and that the remainder of his reign was spent in tranquility. In the year 1163, we find him at the court of England, performing homage anew to Henry the second; but we know of no requisition he made to be reinstated in his English dominions. The Scotch historians have looked upon this acquiescence as a sign of pusillanimity; but I am inclined to think, that it manifested his wisdom, and, perhaps, his justice. The English would, as one man, have united against him, had he attempted to retake Northumberland by arms. He had been lately an eye-witness to the great power of Henry; and it would have been worse than madness in him, to have drawn upon his country the weight of the English arms. Add to this, that Malcolm had regularly ceded the territory in question; and that (as I have already shewn) his father's and grandfather's right of possessing it was, at best, questionable. The Scotch historians themselves very truly say, that Henry declared, he was resolved not to part with so considerable a portion of his regal dominions; which was saying, in fact, that he did not think any of his ancestors or

pre-

A. D. 1161.
Marriage
of Mal-
colm's
sisters.

1163.

A.D. 1163. predeceffors could legally give them up. Impartiality has obliged me to fay thus much in defence of Malcolm, whose conduct is justified by after events.

Reason why
he is called
the Mai-
den

It seems to have been after Malcolm's last visit to the English court, that he held a meeting of his states at Scone. There, the bishop of St. Andrew's, taking the lead in the assembly, which was very numerous, solemnly put Malcolm in mind, that his leaving a lawful heir of his own body was a duty he owed to his country; and concluded by requesting him, in the name of his subjects, to take a wife. Tho' the bishop enforced his request by very strong arguments, both moral and political, yet he was obliged to desist from his suit, by Malcolm's obstinacy not to enter into the state of marriage. No author has ventured to give any reason for this unaccountable behaviour of Malcolm, but that he pleaded a vow of celibacy he had made, and that his brother would sufficiently supply his place, in case of his death. It may, perhaps, be thought too bold for a modern historian to say, that Malcolm's obstinacy was owing to a secret compact between him and his brother, with whom (according to Fordun) he had great differences, on account of the alienation of Northumberland. The same old historian seems to admit, that Malcolm, towards the end of his reign, grew very unpopular, on account of his devoting himself entirely
to

to religious affairs, which indeed was the capital failing of his family; though, as we shall see in our ecclesiastical division, he was not an enthusiast for the pope's power. Fordun even says, that his brother William, because of his hatred to the English, was, without the king's consent, chosen regent or guardian of the kingdom. All historians agree that Malcolm, towards the end of his reign, applied himself to the founding and endowing religious houses; such as the abbey of St. Rule, in the city of St. Andrew's, and that of Coupar, in Angus. At last, Malcolm fell into so deep a depression of spirits, that it brought upon him a disease which put an end to his life, in the twelfth year of his reign, and the twenty-fifth of his age, in the year. 1165.

A.D. 1165.

His death,

I have endeavoured to set this prince's character and actions in their true light, by the assistance of the English history. That of Scotland is very imperfect with regard to both: and, after all, I can scarcely fix a chronological period, but those of his accession, of his return from France in 1163, and that of his death; nor can I perceive any grounds for supposing him to have any more interviews than those I have mentioned with the king of England. Malcolm was not the only king of Scotland in whom religious delusion and enthusiasm destroyed the brightest parts, and enervated the most exalted courage.

and character.

Malcolm

A. D. 1165.
William.

Malcolm was succeeded by his brother William, whose situation at the time of his accession was very extraordinary; and undoubtedly it gave him great reason to complain against Malcolm. The only heritage his father had assigned him, consisted of those English estates which his elder brother had given up, while his younger brother, David, remained in peaceable possession of the great earldom of Huntingdon. This treatment exasperated him so highly, that he refused to enter into any public business till he had named ambassadors to demand from the king of England the restitution of Northumberland. He then issued orders for assembling his states at Scone, where he was solemnly crowned and recognized. When his ambassadors made their requisition of Northumberland, Henry, whose affairs were then much embarrassed, gave him a soothing answer, but pretended that William ought, previous to any such requisition, to appear at his court, and pay his homage in person. The states of Scotland were assembled, and Henry's answer was laid before them. Their opinion was, that in order to put an end to the miseries of war, which were then raging between the two kingdoms on account of Northumberland, William should go to the English court, and, after paying his homage, conclude a final agreement concerning Northumberland, that peace might be restored to both kingdoms.

Demande
Northum-
berland.

For dun.

A. D. 1166.

He pays
homage for
his English
estates.

doms. William accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1166, went to Windsor, where Henry waited for him, and was received with great pomp. Having performed his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, which he held in capite of the English crown (though his brother David had the emoluments of the latter) he required to be put in possession of Northumberland likewise. Henry would have willingly evaded this demand, because William's friendship was then of great consequence to his affairs; but at last he was forced to acquaint William, that it was not in his power to dismember Northumberland from his crown, without the consent of his peers in parliament.

Henry was then preparing to pass over to France, under pretence of making a crusade to the Holy Land (the most plausible expedition of those times); and no doubt he omitted no argument to prevail with the king of Scotland to attend him. William, flattered with the glory of the enterprize, and, perhaps, expecting to form a party among the English nobility, which might bring his claim upon Northumberland to a favourable decision, promised to comply with Henry's desire. It was in vain for the few noblemen about his person to remonstrate against this step, and to urge the example of his brother to dissuade him; for he immediately went over to Normandy with Henry, who thereby thought that he had in

A.D. 1166.

He goes to
France.

his hands a pledge for the tranquility of his northern dominions. We have no particular account of William's behaviour in France; but it is probable that, finding Henry's pretence for an expedition to the Holy-Land no more than an expedient to draw the pope to his side, in his dispute with the famous Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, William returned to his own dominions. Fordun tells us, that before he left France he concluded a truce with Henry, and that it was agreed a definitive treaty should be concluded with the first opportunity. During the short stay that William made in Scotland, he was employed in giving orders for strengthening his frontiers towards England, as foreseeing what afterwards happened. He likewise brought to justice a number of robbers, who then infested his kingdom; and next year we find him once more at the English court at Windsor. Boece and Buchanan inform us, that Henry had by this time agreed William should possess that part of Northumberland which his great grandfather held (meaning, I suppose, Malcolm Canmore); and that William declaring he would be satisfied with nothing less than the whole, Henry repented himself of his grant. Though I meet with no authority for this fact in the English records, yet, from what has fallen from Fordun, Henry seems to have made some very favourable concessions to William, which
he

hè afterwards retracted. This brought on a renewal of hostilities between the two kingdoms; but in the year 1170, matters were so well compromised between the two kings, that Henry knighted David earl of Huntingdon, at Windsor, in presence of his brother, the king of Scotland; but this calm was not of long duration, being the effect of only one year's truce.

A. D. 1170.

Balfour's
Annals,
MSS.

The greatness and power of Henry the second was now formidable to all the princes of Europe, but especially to the kings of Scotland and France. Happily for them, Henry's queen, the restless and implacable Eleanor, had excited her sons to an unnatural war against their father; and William resolved not to lose so fair an opportunity of obliging Henry to do him justice. According to the French historians (for the Scotch are silent on the subject,) William, under pretence of renewing the league between the two nations, went over to France, where a general confederacy had been formed against Henry. It consisted of Henry's three sons, the Norman noblemen, with the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, Blois, Troyes, Chester, Beaumont, and Leicester, besides the kings of Scotland and France. The latter, because he was lord paramount of Normandy and Henry's French dominions, took the lead; and a grand council was summoned, in which the several claimants made their demands. Those

His concerns in the
affairs of
England.

A.D. 1170.

of William were to be put in full possession of all Northumberland, which he was to hold as a fief from the crown of England, and that his brother David, in like manner, should hold the earldom of Huntingdon. His claims were allowed, and (if we are to credit the French writers) William performed homage to young Henry, whom his father had already invested with the name, but not the power, of king of England. If William, as we have reason to believe, was present at this assembly, there can be little doubt of his having performed the homage to young Henry; because the declared intention of the king of France, and the other confederates, was to place him upon the throne of England. Their plan of operations was next formed, and it was agreed that William should invade England, by the way of Northumberland.

1172.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

No prince of that age had so good intelligence as Henry; and it was seconded by a fustible activity, which disconcerted all the schemes of the confederates in France and Normandy, where he acted in person. As to Northumberland, he left it to be defended by Richard de Lucy, who was his lieutenant over all England, and other noblemen. His success in France had disabled the confederates from fulfilling their engagements with William; so that the latter could not take the field so early as he intended. The king of France depended

on

on William's efforts so much, that, though A.D. 1170. he could ill spare troops for a diversion, he sent over the earl of Leicester into England, with a considerable body of Normans and Flemings. William upon this took the field, with an army of Scots and Gallovidians (for the inhabitants of Galloway were still distinguished by that appellation) and finding no force in the field to oppose him, he ravaged the country to the banks of the Humber; and, after putting to the sword many of the inhabitants, he returned by the way of Carlisle, which he besieged. Though Richard de Lucy, and Humphrey de Bohun, and other great English noblemen, thought themselves too weak to fight William, yet they made a powerful diversion to his arms; for they invaded Scotland by the way of Berwick, which they burnt to the ground. They were preparing to have proceeded northwards, when they received intelligence, that the earl of Leicester having landed in Suffolk, and being joined by Hugh Bigod, was advancing against the town of Leicester; and this determined Lucy and de Bohun to suspend their northern expedition, that they might oppose Leicester. It is acknowledged by the English historians, against the truth of history, that William on this occasion agreed to a truce with the two English generals; but it is certain that that truce did not take place till some time after. He was still
lying

A.D. 1173. lying before Carlisle, and was preparing to march southward to join Leicester, when he found himself opposed by an English army, under Richard de Lucy, whilst Bohun marched forward, and totally defeated the earl of Leicester, near St. Edmund's-bury. The news of this soon reached William, who now listened to a proposal of a truce, which was made by Hugh bishop of Durham. It was then the month of December, and it was agreed that all hostilities should cease between the two nations till eight days after the ensuing Easter; but that William, in the mean time, should receive three hundred marks in silver; upon which he returned to Scotland.

This short cessation of hostilities was employed by William in vigorous preparations for war; and it was agreed between him and the earl of Flanders, (who resented the slaughter of his subjects, they having received no quarter at the battle of St. Edmund's-bury) that they would invade England in different quarters, upon the expiration of the truce. In the mean time, I perceive that Simon de St. Lys, who was, by the first marriage, either the son or grandson of Waltheof's daughter, wife to David, the late king of Scotland, claimed, in her right, the earldom of Huntingdon, to the prejudice of Malcolm's brother, who held it. This claim was probably encouraged by Henry, and we find St. Lys at this time blocking up Huntingdon-castle.

Wil-

William, in consequence of his engagements, A. D. 1173. had now taken the field, and had levied upon the inhabitants of Northumberland the three hundred marks which had been agreed to be paid him during the late truce. He divided his army into three columns; the first, commanded by one of his generals, laid siege to Carlisle; he led the second himself into the heart of Northumberland; and his brother David advanced with the third division into Leicestershire, to make head against Simon de St. Lys. William reduced the castles of Burgh, Appleby, Warkworth, and Garby; and then joined that division of his army which was besieging Carlisle. The place was defended by Robert de Vaux, who agreed to give it up to William, if it was not relieved before the end of September; upon which William besieged Prudhou-castle, belonging to the Umfrevilles.

It soon appeared, that William's security had led him into a capital error, by inducing him to divide his forces. He had left some troops to continue the siege, or rather the blockade, of Carlisle. He had sent a reinforcement to his brother David; and he had dispatched two of his generals, called earl Duncan and earl Angus in the English histories, to levy contributions on the neighbouring country. He thus retained about his own person only a handful, with which he was carrying on the siege of Prudhou, when he heard that the
York-

William is
taken pri-
soner by the
English.

A. D. 1173.

Yorkshire men, under Robert de Stuterville and his son, were advancing to surprize him. There is reason to believe that the Stutervilles had, before this, defeated some of the divisions of the Scotch army; either that under the two earls, or that which was marching towards Leicester; for William no sooner heard of the approach of the Yorkshire men, than he retired towards Alnwick, which he besieged. Stuterville and Ralph de Glanville, another English nobleman of the elder Henry's party, had so good intelligence of William's motions, and the careless, dissipated manner in which he acted, that they formed a scheme to surprize him. They dressed a party of their light horse in Scotch habits (those probably of the Scots whom they had lately defeated) and pushing on with forced marches, they came in sight of William's camp before Alnwick; who, supposing them to be a party of his own men, suffered them to approach so near, that he was taken prisoner, while he was reconnoitring some ground about the castle, with no more than sixty attendants in his train. His horse was killed in the attempt he made to disengage himself; and we are told, that his retinue was composed entirely of English and Normans, in the party of the younger Henry. Such is the true manner in which this king was made a captive; nor does it appear from Fordun, or any good authority, that a truce

(as

(as later Scotch historians alledge) was then subsisting between William and the English. Matthew Paris says, that a great slaughter of the Scots ensued upon William's captivity; but he is weak enough to pretend, that this success of the English arms was owing to the elder Henry having, some time before, submitted his bare back to be scourged with rods by monks, for the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1173.

The barbarity of the English to their royal captive is almost incredible; for he was carried prisoner, with his feet tied under a horse's belly, to Richmond-castle; a situation, which, however disgraceful, was more glorious than that of the mighty Henry, when under the discipline of the Monks.

David, earl of Huntingdon, who was then in Leicestershire, when he heard of his brother's captivity, instantly left England, and returned to Scotland, where he found many scenes of blood and confusion, on account of the king's imprisonment. According to Fordun, the Scots and Gallovidians revenged themselves severely, by repeated and bloody inroads upon the English; while the latter broke into Scotland and Galloway, where they gave no quarter to age or sex. Those mutual barbarities were no doubt encouraged by the ignominious manner in which Henry treated William, who was carried before him in chains at Nor-

1174.

His concessions and release.

A. D. 1174.

thampton, and ordered to be transported to the castle of Falaise in Normandy, where he was shut up with other state-prisoners. Soon after this, an accommodation took place between Henry and his sons; and all the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, except William, who bore his confinement with great impatience. It was natural for Henry to avail himself of this, by pressing him to agree to that point which had been so long in debate between the two nations; I mean, his performing homage to the king of England for the crown of Scotland, as well as for the lands he held of Henry. There is no denying that William was mean enough to accept of the proposed condition; and that he agreed to a treaty, by which all dubiety concerning the kingdom of Scotland being a fief of the crown of England was removed. But those concessions were only upon paper, and might be retracted as soon as William was at liberty, on pretence that they had been extorted by force; an excuse which has ever been allowed to be valid among all nations. The elder Henry was too consummate a politician not to foresee this; and he obliged William to agree to deliver up, as deposits, into his hands, the principal forts of his kingdom; which were, the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh (which in the record is called the Maiden-castle) and Stirling. David, earl of Huntingdon, with twenty of the barons

of

of Scotland, who were present at the signing of this convention, promised to perform homage to Henry for the future, if required, and were delivered into his hands as hostages for William's good faith; engaging, at the same time, to procure the assent of all their absent nobility to the agreement. One farther circumstance is remarkable, and serves to prove how unconscionable the demands of Henry were; for William was obliged to agree to pay out of his own pocket the garrisons of the castles which he had thus so shamefully ceded.

A.D. 1174

Rymer's
Fœdera.

Few histories afford an instance of such a people as the Scots tamely submitting to so infamous a convention as this was; nor indeed can we fairly attribute it to any other cause, than the affection they bore to their king. The treaty was not only concluded, but ratified and executed; and Henry thereby held Scotland in chains. All his precaution, however, could not give a validity to the convention, which was void by the king being in durance when it was made.

William being restored to his liberty, returned to Scotland, which he found in great confusion. During his captivity, the people of Galloway, at the head of whom were two noblemen or princes, called Othred and Gilbert, took that opportunity of reviving their claim to an independency upon the Scotch crown.

He is set at
liberty.

A.D. 1174. crown. They were the sons of Fergus, the late prince of Galloway, whom I have already mentioned; and having expelled all the Scotch officers out of their country, they demolished the forts that had been erected there by William and his predecessors, and put to death all foreigners. The two brothers quarrelling, upon their success, Othred was murdered by Gilbert or his order; and Gilbert applied to Henry for protection,

1175. By this time Henry had returned to England; and, to give all the validity that his late convention with William could admit of, he summoned him to meet him and his son, to whom he was now reconciled, at York, in 1175. William obeyed the summons, which appears to have been of a very extensive nature; for all the great nobility and land-holders in Scotland appeared at the same time, confirmed the convention of Falaise, swore fealty to Henry, and put themselves and their country under his protection. All that can be said in extenuation of this infamous transaction (for it cannot be denied) is, that the nation was then as much in Henry's power as William had been when he concluded the convention of Falaise. Henry having gained this great point, ordered Hoveden, the historian, and Robert de Vaux, the governor of Carlisle, to treat with Gilbert of Galloway. The latter had offered to put himself and his people under the pro-

protection of England, and to pay to Henry two thousand marks of silver yearly, with five hundred cows, and as many hogs, by way of tribute. This immense subsidy (for so it was at that time) leaves no room to doubt, that Galloway was then of a much greater extent than the present county of that name; and that it had then resources in commerce which are now lost. Henry's two commissaries, struck with the horror of Othred's murder, refused to make any final agreement with Gilbert. The negociation was transferred to Henry in person; and he, to please his new feudatory, William, declined intermeddling in the affair. Upon this, William ordered his general, Gilchrist, to march with an army against the Gallovidians, which he did with so much success, that he defeated them. Before I leave this part of history, I am to observe, that William did nothing against the Gallovidians but by the permission of Henry, who now considered himself as the lord paramount of Scotland. Gilbert, who had actually assumed the title of king, pretended that his allegiance was due to Henry, not as a Scotch nobleman, but as a feudatory prince. He therefore did not appear at York with the other Scotch land-holders; but he afterwards repaired to England, under a safe-conduct from William, and there performed his homage to Henry, paying him at the same time a thousand marks of silver, to atone for

A.D. 1175.

A.D. 1175. for his brother's murder, and leaving him his son as a hostage for his fidelity. Upon the whole, the complexion of the history of Galloway, as it is delivered casually by Scotch and English authors, leaves no room to doubt that it was inhabited by a race of men, who were not either of Scotch or English original, and became a dependent people only by compulsion.

Rymer. The reader is to observe, that the forts in Scotland delivered up to Henry, were to be restored as soon as the terms of the Falaise convention were fulfilled. Buchanan is of opinion, (but he is justified by none of the records or the old historians,) that they were in the nature of a mortgage for the payment of certain sums of money by William. However this may be, the cession was temporary and conditional. One of those conditions, however, remained still to be performed; which was, "That the church of Scotland shall hereafter make such submission to the church of England as she ought to make to her, and as she was wont to do in the time of the kings of England, his predecessors." Henry, who knew the importance of this stipulation, ordered an ecclesiastical synod to be held at Northampton, in 1176; and there, William appeared at the head of his clergy, according to Henry's summons. The church of Scotland, to her honour, was not so pliable as her king and

and laity, had been, to a foreign jurisdiction. A. D. 1176.
 The clergy took advantage of the ambiguity of the expression, "as she was wont to do," to dispute the bishop of York's claim; and, happily for them, the archbishop of Canterbury insisted upon their submitting to him as primate. This producing a contest between the two metropolitans, the Scotch clergy retired without submitting themselves to either. William, to soften this disappointment (for such it was to Henry) referred the matter to the pope, and sent ambassadors to Rome for that purpose. His holiness, always glad of an occasion to dictate to princes, appointed a cardinal, one Vivian, to repair to Scotland, and to take cognizance of the affair; but he had instructions, at the same time, to raise as much money in Scotland as he could. William was not ignorant of his commission, and sent him notice, that he could not answer for his safety, if he intended aught in prejudice of his crown and kingdom; and he even obliged him to take an oath, that he would attempt nothing of that kind. Upon the legate's compliance with those demands, he was admitted into Scotland; and the national council being held in 1177, at the abbey of Holy-rood house, many ancient canons were renewed, and new ones enacted. 1177.
 Soon after this, William had a difference with the bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, which Henry and the pope endeavoured

A.D. 1177. voured to compromise, but in vain. This produced an excommunication against William, and an interdiction of his kingdom, but, so far as we know, without any bad consequence to either; which is an additional proof how little the church of Scotland was then under papal influence.

An usurper. The kingdom of Scotland being now freed from all apprehensions on the side of England, by Henry's obtaining peaceable possession of the cautionary fortresses, William seems to have lived, for some years, in uninterrupted but inglorious tranquillity. It was disturbed by one Donald Bane, so called from his ancestors, who were of the blood-royal of Scotland; and it is extremely probable, that William's shameful submission to Henry encouraged him to take the title of king, which he undoubtedly did. Having assembled a body of men in the Ebudæ and the neighbouring islands, he landed in Ross-shire, where he ravaged the country. Sir James Balfour, in his Manuscript Annals, says, that this Donald Bane, who was otherwise called Mac William, pretended to be the grandson of Duncan, bastard of Malcolm Canmore, and whom we have already mentioned to have worn the crown of Scotland. It is not surprising that, under such pretexts, numbers repaired to his standard, and that he advanced as far as Murray. There he was encountered by William in person, and, being totally defeated, his

his head was cut off, and carried ignominiously about upon a pole. A.D. 1177.

About this time, the famous Gilchrist, whom we may call the crown-general of Scotland, fell under the king's displeasure, on the following occasion. He had married Matilda, sister to William, and the youngest daughter of his father, prince Henry; but Gilchrist, either upon suspicion or proof of her incontinence, had put her to death, at a village called Maynes, near Dundee. William (who perhaps was not satisfied with the evidence brought against his sister) summoned Gilchrist to take his trial for the murder; and, upon his not appearing, his estates were forfeited, his castles demolished, and himself banished. He took refuge in England; but the conventions between William and Henry, importing, that one should not harbour the traitorous subjects of the other, forced Gilchrist to return to Scotland with his two sons. There they were exposed to all the miseries of indigence, and fear of discovery; and obliged to skulk from place to place. Upon William's return from his northern expedition against Mac William, happening to pass by Perth, he observed three strangers, who, though disguised like rustics, appeared, by their noble mien, to be above the vulgar. William, who first discovered them, was confirmed in this apprehension, by seeing them strike out of the high road, and endeavouring

Disgrace of
Gilchrist.

A. D. 1177. to avoid notice. He ordered them to be seized; and when brought before him, the eldest, who was Gilchrist himself, fell upon his knees before him, and gave such a detail of his misfortunes, and their causes, as drew tears into the eyes of all who were present; and Gilchrist was restored to his honours and estates. From the family of this Gilchrist that of the Ogilvies is said to be descended.

1186.
Affairs of
Galloway.

In the year 1186, Henry the second looked upon the county of Galloway as being legally annexed to his crown, by the late submissions of its princes; and leaving France, on pretence of quelling some commotions there, he raised an army, with which he marched into Scotland. Being advanced as far as Carlisle, Roland, then prince of Galloway, and son to Othred, threw himself at Henry's feet. This Roland, notwithstanding his defection from his allegiance to the crown of Scotland, had been assisted by William to subdue Gospatric, Henry, and Samuel Kennedy, who had been the instruments of the late Gilbert's tyranny. He had likewise subdued and killed a famous robber, whom Fordun calls Gillicolin, and who, it seems, was a friend and partizan of Henry. The history of Galloway is the most intricate of any portion of the Scotch annals. It is difficult to determine to whom this Roland owed his allegiance. It appears, that he thought it due to William, but that he paid it

Fordun.

to

to Henry, even by William's orders *. Ro-
land's submission softened Henry, and he laid
aside his expedition against Galloway.

A. D. 1188.

Marriage of
William.

There is some reason to believe, that great
part of William's time was spent at the English
court; for we find him, in the year I now
treat of, marrying at Woodstock Ermen-
garda, daughter to the earl of Beaumont, a
near relation of Henry; who, among other
restitutions to the crown of Scotland, gave up
the castle of Edinburgh (which he appears to
have unjustly detained) to William, as part of
his wife's fortune. The English records inti-
mate, that Simon de St. Lys, ever since the
prosperous turn of Henry's affairs, had been in
possession of the earldom of Huntingdon; and
that upon his death Henry gave it to William.
Some of the Scotch historians say, that he be-
stowed upon him, at the same time, Westmore-
land and Cumberland; but they seem, in this
respect, to be too liberal.

Balfour.

The accession of Richard the first to the crown
of England was a joyful æra to the Scots.
Richard, when he mounted the throne, was

Richard the
first releases
the Scots
from their
dependency.

* Hēnricus, rex Angliæ, graviter exasperatus erga Rotho-
landum, pro morte proditorum Galwalensium, quos anno pre-
cedente se suaque juratuendo belli lege prostraverat, atque, ad
aggressionem malivolorum quorundam, eum habens exosum,
coadunato contra eum undequaque per Angliam exercitu, Kar-
lele usque progressus est. Ubi Rotholendus, jussu & consilio do-
mini sui regis Scociæ, ad eum veniens, honorifice eum ipso con-
cordatus est. Fordun, p. 720.

A. D. 1186.

engaged in the crusade; and the lenity with which his father had of late treated William, sufficiently indicated, that his newly acquired superiority over Scotland was but very precarious. He therefore formed a plan for ensuring the quiet of his kingdom, while he was absent in the crusade, by making William his friend. William's brother, David, had assisted at Richard's coronation, as earl of Huntingdon; and one of the first measures of Richard's government, was his inviting William to give him a meeting at Canterbury; for which purpose he ordered his brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of York elect, and all the northern barons, to receive William upon the borders. So illustrious a deputation, in a country where William had lately seen himself a shackled captive, could not but please him; and he arrived at Canterbury about the middle of December, 1189.

1189.

According to the English records, Richard then held, of all the cautionary forts, only those of Roxburgh and Berwic; and, from the words of the original proceedings, there is the strongest proof, that William's acts of fealty for the crown of Scotland had been always considered, even in England, as being extorted from him by an unjust force. He agreed to pay Richard ten thousand marks of silver, and to renew his homage for all his English possessions, provided Richard released him from the unjust homage which he had been forced

forced to pay for his crown of Scotland. The convention entered into is still extant in the English historian Hoveden, and carries on its face the strongest evidence of the independency of the Scotch crown; because Richard there positively acknowledges, "that all the conventions and pactions of submission from William to the crown of England, had been extorted from him by unprecedented writings and duress." This generosity of Richard met with a noble return from William; for when Richard was lying prisoner in an Austrian dungeon, the king of Scotland sent an army to assist his regency against his tyrannical brother, John, who wanted to usurp his throne.

Gratitude
of William
to Richard.

1194-

Upon the return of Richard to his dominions in 1194, he overflowed with gratitude for William's generous friendship; and acknowledged it was owing to him that the schemes of John had been baffled, and that even the king of France had not been able to shake his friendship to the crown of England. William was sufficiently sensible of his own importance, to which his demands were adequate. They amounted to his being put in possession of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster, with a confirmation of the rank and all privileges which had been formerly due or granted to any of his predecessors as kings of Scotland. Richard's circumstances at this time were such, that he could not immediately agree

His high demands.

to

A. D. 1194.

to transfer to William a property which in fact made him more powerful than himself; but he appointed a meeting at Chepstow, in order to adjust all matters of difference between them. At this meeting, Richard again expressed the most lively sentiments of gratitude to William, and the latter laid before him his late charter, which imported, "That all claims of the kings of Scotland concerning their journies to or from the English court, when summoned, and their abode therein, together with all disputes about their liberties, dignities, and honours, should be referred to the arbitration of eight noblemen, of which, four were to be chosen by Richard, from among the Scots, and four by William, from among the English." By another article of the same charter it is provided, "That the king of Scotland, and his heirs for ever, should possess all his lands, whether demesnes or feodal, in England, that is to say, in the earldom of Huntingdon, and elsewhere, with the same immunities and privileges as his brother King Malcolm had enjoyed the same; excepting those estates which, by either of them, had been given off in fee, the services still to be reserved to the crown of Scotland." The reader will find the original words in the notes *, which will enable him to judge of their importance.

* Præterea quietavimus et omnes pactiones quas bonus pater noster, Henricus rex Angliæ, per novas chartas, et per captionem suam extorsit, ita videlicet, et vobis faciat integre et plenarie quic-

That William was at this time a very powerful prince, may be fairly concluded from the tenderness and decency with which Richard, haughty and over-bearing as he was, treated his demands. These were no less than his being put in possession of all the northern counties, as I have already observed, without any regard to the acts which had been performed by himself or his predecessors in prejudice of his sovereignty; and likewise that the terms and manner of his entertainment when he entered England should be settled. The latter was a matter of high importance, and seems to have been dictated by the great landholders of Scotland to their king, which requires that I should lay the case fully open.

A. D. 1194.

Power of William.

The feodallaw had left it doubtful, whether a vassal to a lord paramount was obliged to ap-

quicquid rex Scotiæ Malcolmus frater ejus antecessoribus nostri; de jure fecit, et de jure facere debuit: et nos ei faciemus quicquid antecessores nostri prædicto Malcolmo de jure fecerunt et facere debuerunt, scilicet et de conductu in veniendo curiam, et in morando in curia, et in redeundo a curia, et in procurationibus, et in omnibus libertatibus, et dignitatibus, et honoribus, eidem jure debitis, secundum quod recognoscetur a quatuor proceribus nostris ab ipso W. rege electis, et a quatuor proceribus illius a nobis electis. Præterea de terris suis quas haberet in Anglia, seu dominicis, seu feodis, scilicet in comitatu Huntendon, et in omnibus aliis, in ea libertate et consuetudine possideat et hæredes ejus in perpetuum, qua præfatus rex Malcolmus possidet vel possidere debuit, nisi prædictus rex Malcolmus vel hæredes sui aliquid postea infeodaverint, ita tamen, quod si aliqua postea infeodata sunt ipsorum feodorum servitia, ad eum et ad hæredes ejus pertineant et terram quam pater noster prescripto regi W. donavit, in eadem libertate, quam ipsam ei dedit, ipsum et hæredes suos perpetuo possidere volumus. Rymer's Fœd. tom. I. p. 64.

pear

A. D. 1194.

State of
William's
fealty.

pear at that lord's court, if it was held without the bounds of his fee. The kings of Scotland had often attended the English courts, when held in the southern parts of the island; but they had always complained of such attendance as an unjust oppression, because the maintenance of royal dignity cost the subjects of Scotland vast sums, by which they were not profited. Richard was resolved to gratify William in all demands he possibly could comply with. He waved his privilege of obliging the king of Scotland, as his vassal, to appear wherever the superior held his court; and he passed a charter, importing, " That when the king of Scotland should, in order to meet with the king of England, enter the limits of this last kingdom, the bishop of Durham, and the sheriff of Northumberland, should receive him at the river Tweed, and wait on him to the Teise; and there the archbishop of York, and sheriff of Yorkshire, should receive and conduct him to the borders of that county; and so the bishops of each diocese, with the sheriffs, should attend him from county to county, till he came to the English court. That, from the time he entered England, he should receive every day, of allowance from the king of England, one hundred shillings (in those days no small sum); and, when at court, thirty shillings; twelve of the king's fine cakes; twelve of his biskets, or simnal loaves, of fine wheat, twice baked; four

four gallons of his wine, and eight of ordinary wine; two pounds of pepper, as much of cinnamon; two cakes of wax, weighing each eight or twelve pounds; four wax-candles; and forty great long candles, of the king's candles; and eighty ordinary candles; and that, when he returned into his own country, he should be conducted back again by the bishops and sheriffs as before, and have the same allowance in money, of one hundred shillings a day."

A. D. 1194

This charter bears date at Northampton, on Easter-Tuesday, being the twelfth of April, 1194, and is a glorious testimony of the spirit of independency which then actuated the king and the people of Scotland. It freed them from an immense expence. The injustice of the claims set on foot by Henry the second had been fully acknowledged, and formally cancelled, and the most disgraceful part of feudal submission was by this charter revoked; because the king of England, in fact, gave up his power of arbitrarily and wantonly summoning the king of Scotland, to attend him where he pleased. William was fully sensible of the pre-eminence which it gave him over the subjects of England; for when he came to Brackley, on his journey to Winchester, he commanded the bishop of Durham, who attended him, to yield him up his lodging. The haughty prelate refused to comply, and a skir-

He visits
Richard.

A.D. 1194. **mis**th ensued, in which some blood was shed; but, upon William's complaint, the bishop received next day a severe reprimand from Richard. On the seventeenth of April, five days after the grant of the above charter, Richard held a parliament at Winchester, where he was solemnly crowned a second time; and we find William, on this occasion, officiating as the first subject of England; for he carried one of the swords of state, as earl of Huntingdon, between the earls of Warren and Chester.

Dispute
concerning
Northum-
berland.

All this time, the great claim of Northumberland, urged by William, lay undecided, because Richard pretended that it must be referred to his court of peers. His necessities, however, at last, obliged him to make a general resumption of all the lands that had been alienated from the crown, and, among others, of Northumberland, which was then possessed by the bishop of Durham. That prelate knew Richard's impetuous temper too well to dispute his pleasure; and resigned the county into the hands of Hugh Bardolf, one of Richard's favourites. William took this amiss; and being sensible how much Richard wanted money, he offered to pay him down fifteen thousand marks for Northumberland. Richard would gladly have accepted the money, and, at the same time, have given up the revenues; but he refused to part with the castles, because the prerogative of the king of England suffered.

ferred no fortified place to remain in the hands of a subject; upon which William very wisely broke off the bargain, which must have terminated in a precarious possession of the county, to which he otherwise pleaded a right. Bar-dolf, therefore, kept possession of the county of Northumberland, and forced the bishop of Durham to resign into his hands the castle of Bamborough, and the town of Newcastle upon Tine, together with some lands that had even been annexed to the bishopric.

Upon the accession of John to the crown of England, in 1199, the case of the great barons having liberty to build castles upon their own estates, was again agitated. They thought, that as John's title was precarious (his elder brother's son being alive) the juncture was favourable for their demands; and they were not deceived. David, brother to the king of Scotland, was present in the grand assembly held at Northampton, in which the barons swore an eventual fealty to John, on condition of their being confirmed in their privileges; one of which, they alledged, was that of fortifying castles on their own estates. William, as the first subject of England, lost no time in reviving his claim to the disputed northern counties. He sent ambassadors to the English regency (John being then in Normandy) with a peremptory requisition of the litigated counties; and with orders, if they should receive no sa-

William's
transactions
in England.

1199.

A.D. 1199.

tisfaction from the regency, to proceed to Normandy, and to apply to John in person. This was a delicate point, both with regard to John and the regency. The former was afraid that William might espouse the cause of his elder brother's son, the young duke of Brittany; and the latter, (who knew John's dispositions,) that, if he gratified the king of Scotland, they might unite together, and put an end to their liberties. After the Scotch ambassadors had their audience in England, the regency flatly refused to suffer them to proceed to Normandy, and, by messengers of their own, they informed John of their errand. His answer was, that, upon his arrival in England, he would do justice to the king of Scotland, provided the latter kept the peace in the mean time. John, on the twenty-fifth of May, landed in England; and, after his coronation, he gave audience to the Scotch ambassadors, who were the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Hugh de Mauleville. John gave a soothing answer to William, and promised that he would satisfy his dear cousin in all his demands, if he would grant him a meeting; and at the same time he ordered the bishop of Durham to receive William upon the frontiers. William's reply was, that he was no longer to be trifled with, and that he knew how to do himself justice, if he did not obtain it within forty days. John, who had come to Nottingham

tingham in order to meet William, upon receiving this unexpected answer, made William de Stuterville his lieutenant for the northern counties, his own affairs obliging him to return to Normandy.

A. D. 1199.

In the year 1200, William's claim upon Northumberland remained still undetermined. He probably had trusted to the friendship of the northern barons, who disliked his entering into possession of Northumberland. Upon the breach that happened between John and his turbulent natural brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, John sent a most splendid embassy to invite William to meet him at Lincoln. The ambassadors were, Philip, bishop of Durham; Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk; Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford; David, earl of Huntingdon; Roger de Lucy, constable of Chester; William de Vesci, Roger de Rofs, and Robert Fitz Roger, sheriff of Northumberland. On the twenty-first of November both princes met at Lincoln; and William performed his homage in public to John upon the Bone-hill there. I hazard little in saying, that this homage was performed by William on a presumption that it was to put him into possession of Northumberland; for David, at that time, certainly was earl of Huntingdon. It is indeed uncertain, whether he did not hold it as a sub-fee from William, who had several other estates in England at the same time, for which he might

1200.

He meets
with king
John.

A. D. 1200.

might have done homage; but that which he performed at Lincoln is, without dispute, to be understood as done for Northumberland. The two kings, however, were far from agreeing upon the terms of William's investiture. John insisted upon his joining with him in a war he was then meditating against the king of France, who had of late forced him to a most dishonourable treaty. William absolutely refused to do this; upon which the two kings parted, dissatisfied with each other; but John promised to give William an answer by next Whitsuntide.

1209.

A quarrel
between
them.

In 1209, the misunderstanding between William and John still continued. The former complained of a castle built near Berwic, by John's orders; and the latter pretended that William had acted against his allegiance, by giving his daughter in marriage to the earl of Boulogne, and shelter to the English rebels. John (who was then upon very ill terms with his subjects) was glad of a popular pretext for keeping an army on foot. He took the field, and threatened to invade Scotland. By this time William had demolished the fort; and neither party inclining to come to extremities, a conference was held at York, where matters were compromised; but the historians of the two nations differ widely as to the terms. Those of England say, that William engaged to pay down eleven thousand marks of silver to John,

A. D. 1209.

John, and to deliver up his two daughters as hostages for the performance of the treaty; but that John promised not to rebuild the fort. Mr. Rymer has accordingly printed William's bond for this purpose, which is dated at Northampton, August the seventh, 1209. Buchanan and the Scotch historians, on the other hand, say, that the money paid was by way of dowry for the two young princesses, who were to be married to John's two sons. Fordun's account is, however, to be most depended on. He says, that William had twice utterly demolished the fort then building at the mouth of the Tweed, by John's orders; that he had driven away, taken, or killed, all the workmen employed upon it; and that, after tedious negotiations on both sides, it was agreed that the two Scotch princesses should be put into John's hands, to be married, in nine years, to his two sons, Henry and Richard, who were yet boys. There can be no doubt of this transaction, and Fordun's relation is strongly corroborated by the record which Mr. Rymer has published; for he tells us, that William gave his bond to John for the payment of fifteen thousand marks, at four different terms, within two years. I am now to return to the other parts of William's history, which I have hitherto omitted, in order to preserve his transactions with England as entire as possible.

A. D. 1209.
William's
princely
virtues.

Balfour's
Annals,
MSS.

If William's reign was not so splendid as those of some of his predecessors, it was owing to the great attention he paid to the happiness of his subjects. He cleared his kingdom of thieves and robbers; he erected magnificent buildings in his dominions, witness the ruins of the abbey of Arbroath; he generously made a present of two thousand marks of silver, to help to defray the ransom of his friend Richard, king of England; and, before he had a son, he obliged his nobility to recognize the right of his daughter Margaret to succeed him. He gave his sister in marriage to Roland earl of Galloway, whom he entirely detached from the English interest, by creating him great constable of Scotland, which post was hereditary, but fell to the crown by the death of William de Morville without issue. Harold earl of Caithness, presuming upon his remote situation, had been guilty of many oppressive acts, and kept the field with an army. He had two sons, Rory and Torfin, who filled the neighbouring country with devastation; but William marched against them, and defeated them in a pitched battle, in which Rory was killed. Next year Harold himself, who had been pardoned by the king, was instigated by his wife again to break into rebellion; but being defeated and taken prisoner by the royal forces, he was shut up in Roxburgh-castle. When the king's resentment was abated, he

was

was set at liberty; but his son Torfin surrendered himself a hostage for his good behaviour. Harold, notwithstanding this, persisted in his rebellious practices, for which Torfin was punished by the loss of his eyes and genitals.

A. D. 1209.

About this time was born Alexander, prince of Scotland, to the great joy of his father, who soon after summoned a convention of his states at Musselburgh, in which Alexander was recognized as his successor. In 1205 William's brother, David earl of Huntingdon, acknowledged the young prince, as William's apparent heir. According to Fordun, William made a simple and entire surrender to the king of England of all the lands he held in that kingdom; and they were reinvested in prince Alexander, at Alnwick. Two meetings were afterwards held; one at Durham, and the other at Norham, at which were present both kings and their nobles, together with the queen of Scotland; and a perpetual peace was concluded between the two kingdoms. To make it the more permanent, prince Alexander, when he came to be fourteen years of age, was knighted at London by the king of England; and he returned to his father after Easter 1212. The English historians say, that William was then grown old and unfit for government; and that he reposed confidence in John, against his discontented subjects. Whatever may be in this, it is agreed on all hands, that William behaved to him as a faithful ally, and sent him the first

Birth of the Prince of Scotland.

1212.

William a faithful ally to John.

A. D. 1214. dissuaded by his peers from marrying the youngest sister of his subject's wife : upon which she was given to the earl marshal of England.

Alexander
II.

At the time of Alexander's accession, the crown of Scotland made a very respectable figure in the affairs of Europe. The liberties of England were on the point of being swallowed up by the pope ; and the king and the court of Alexander was crowded with English barons, who put themselves under his protection, and called upon him to head them against their tyrant. Alexander was then about sixteen, full of fire and spirit, and master of an united people. His uncle, David earl of Huntingdon, tho' now old and infirm, acted as chief mourner at the late king's burial ; but neither he nor his nephew could be brought to declare war against John, or to join the northern barons, till John had entirely over-run their estates, and parcelled them out among his followers. This indecision was one of the chief reasons that induced the English barons to turn their eyes towards the king of France, for their deliverance. Alexander at first demanded, (in consequence of former conventions) to be put in possession of Northumberland and the northern counties ; but John, who thought he had then obtained a complete triumph over the liberties of his people, slighted his request, and even made preparations for invading Scotland. He had given all the tract between the river Teise and Scotland to Hugh de

de Baliol and another nobleman, upon the terms of their defending it against the Scots. Alexander complained of this; but before he took the field, he exacted an oath of homage from the northern barons, and from all the military tenants of the counties to which he laid claim. He then fell upon Northumberland, which he easily reduced, while John invaded Scotland by the way of Yorkshire. The inhabitants laid their country waste, and fled for protection to Alexander, who had returned to Melros; but he could not prevent John from burning the towns of Wark, Alnwick, and Morpeth, and taking the strong castles of Roxburgh and Berwick. He next plundered the abbey of Coldingham, reduced Dunbar and Haddington, laid all waste where-ever he marched, and boasted that he would thereby hunt the little red fox (alluding to Alexander's complexion) out of his lurking holes.

A. D. 1214.

His war
with Eng-
land.

By this time Alexander had returned to the protection of his capital, against which John was advancing on a full march. He found Alexander encamped with the river Esk in his front, and ready to give him battle; upon which John precipitately marched back. He was pursued by Alexander; and, in order to cover his retreat, John burnt the towns of Berwick and Coldingham, and instructed, in his own person, his mercenaries in every barbarous act; for he set fire in the morning to the houses where he had lodged at night.

A.D. 1214.

night. His army had the advantage of being supplied from his fleet with provisions, while Alexander's troops were stopt in their march by the desolation which their enemies had spread. Alexander being thus forced to discontinue his pursuit, marched to the westward; and entering England by the way of Carlisle, which he took and fortified, he proceeded as far as Richmond, and retaliated upon John's adherents the same severities which his own subjects had undergone. There he was again stopt by John's ravages, and forced to return through Westmoreland to his own kingdom. This expedition was finished gloriously on the side of Alexander; for it is acknowledged that he received the homage of all the Yorkshire as well as Northumbrian barons, (who opposed John) and that he took them under his protection. We are ignorant of the nature of the homage which Alexander exacted; but probably it was as to a sovereign, and that he no longer acknowledged John's title to the crown of England. It was at this time that the English barons applied for assistance to the king of France, who sent them his son Lewis, to whom they transferred their allegiance, and whom Alexander likewise recognized as king of England.

Upon the arrival of Lewis in England, the Yorkshire barons besieged York, which was still in John's hands. Lewis, among his other acts of sovereignty, summoned Alexander to do him

him homage ; but the latter, by this time, was besieging Carlisle, which had again fallen into John's hands. The state of affairs in the south did not admit of Alexander's continuing the siege. He therefore appeared before Barnard-castle, which having been strongly fortified by Hugh de Baliol, he was likewise unable to take, and in reconnoitring it he lost his friend Eustace de Vesci, one of the bravest noblemen in England. It does not appear that Alexander met with any opposition in his march through the heart of England to London, where he joined Lewis ; tho' some say that their first interview was at Dover. His assistance was highly seasonable ; and, upon Alexander's performing homage, Lewis confirmed all his rights to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. After the junction of the Scotch and the English army under Lewis, the progress of the latter was very rapid ; but the ravages of the combined army gave the English a disgust to the French government. It is at this time that we are to fix an interview which Lewis and Alexander had with the king of France at Boulogne upon the affairs of England. At this meeting the king of France reproached his son for the untowardly state of his affairs in England, but above all for suffering the strong castle of Dover to remain in the hands of John. Upon the return of Alexander and Lewis to England the siege of Dover was formed, as was likewise that

A. D. 1214.

He meets
with prince
Lewis.

A. D. 1214.

that of Windfor-castle; but, by this time, the French party in England had been ruined by the English, and had now little other dependance than Alexander's friendship and assistance. The sieges of both castles proved unsuccessful; but Alexander continued faithful to his engagements with Lewis and the barons; and, in August 1216, he brought to their assistance a fresh army, but obliged them to swear, at the same time, that they would make no peace with John without his consent.

1216.

He takes
part with
the Eng-
lish barons.

This seasonable reinforcement brought to the barons by Alexander, once more turned the scale of success against John, who died about this time, and was succeeded by his infant son Henry the Third. The English nation being now rid of their tyrant, by the death of John, gradually reconciled themselves to his son, whose guardian was the brave earl of Pembroke. What part Alexander took, upon this great revolution of affairs, is uncertain; but he seems to have continued still attached to the party of Lewis. Mr. Rymer has printed the treaty between Lewis and the young king's guardians, in which the king of Scotland was invited to be comprehended. Alexander had great reason to find fault with this treaty, which left him in a manner to the mercy of young Henry and his guardians, who were not obliged to regard the stipulations that had been made between him and

Rymer vol.
i. p. 221.

and Lewis. He thought proper however to accept of the invitation, tho' he was thereby obliged to give up all the prisoners and acquisitions he had made during the war, Henry and the other party making the like concessions. His kingdom lay at this time under the papal interdict; but the Scots were the only people in Christendom, who at that period despised the thunder of the Vatican; nor do we find that either their king or they suffered by the interdict, which was taken off by the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham. Soon after, Alexander gave up Carlisle, which had again fallen into his hands, and did homage to Henry for the earldom of Huntingdon, and his other English possessions, at Northampton, where he kept his Christmas in the year 1217.

Perhaps Alexander's domestic affairs had some influence upon his pacific conduct at this time; for we are told that Donald Bane, son to the rebel Mac-William, together with an Irish potentate, invaded Scotland, but were defeated by Alexander's general, who by Sir James Balfour is called Maekentagar, for which he was knighted and nobly rewarded by his master. This rebellion being suppressed, Alexander turned his thoughts to marriage, and had a meeting with Henry at York. There the peace between the two crowns was confirmed, and Alexander demanded from Henry, Joan, his eldest sister, for a wife. The situation of this

1217.
His domestic
affairs.

Annals
MSS.

A. D. 1217. princess was very particular. She had, when very young, been betrothed by her father to the earl of March's son, Hugh de Lusignan, who had been formerly in love with the mother. He received her accordingly from John's hands; and she was to remain in his custody till she should arrive at a proper age. In the mean time John died, and Lusignan married his widow; but even then refused to deliver the young princess to her brother and the English nation, who reclaimed her, unless he was paid a sum of money by way of ransom. She continued still in Lusignan's hands, when Alexander and Henry had their interview at York; and the latter agreeing to the match, he bound himself, if possible, to procure his eldest sister for Alexander; but if he should fail, he promised him his younger sister in marriage, in fifteen days after the time prefixed for the nuptials of the eldest. This affair being adjusted, the case of the two Scotch princesses, who had been delivered to John to be married to his two sons, and remained yet in England, fell under deliberation. The crying injustice that had been done them by John (who never meant that his engagements should reach farther than the receiving the money for their dowries) prevailed with Henry to promise to send them to Scotland, if he did not provide them with suitable matches in England; but at the same time he took a bond from Alexander,

ander, obliging him to perform his marriage with the princess Joan, if she could be recovered out of Lufignan's hands. All those matches fell out according to the wishes of the several parties. The princess Joan was married to Alexander, whose eldest sister, Margery, was married to Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England; and his second sister, with whom, as we have already seen, Henry himself was in love, to Gilbert, earl-marshal, the two greatest subjects Henry had.

A.D. 1217.

His marriage.

The marriage between Alexander and the princess Joan was consummated at York, in 1221; and, during the life of that princess, a good understanding subsisted between the two kingdoms. In the year 1222, some disturbances broke out in Scotland. One Gillespy, at the head of a band of robbers, had burnt the town of Inverness, and had carried fire and sword through the adjacent counties; but he was defeated by the earl of Buchan, and his head, with those of his two sons, was sent to the king. Alexander seems at this time to have resided chiefly in the southern parts of Scotland; a circumstance which probably encouraged the disorders in the North, where a terrible scene happened this year in Caithness. That county was then in the fee of Adam, bishop of Orkney, whose officers collected his tythes and other dues so rigorously, that the people of the county rose, and dragging the bishop and

Disturbances in Scotland.

1221.

1222.

A. D. 1222. one of his attendants, Serlo, a monk, into his kitchen, there burnt them both alive. Alexander was at Jedburgh, and raising an army, immediately marched north; and seizing four hundred of the insurgents, he ordered them all to be gibbeted. The earl of Caithness was strongly suspected of having been privy to the bishop's murder; but by representing the oppressions the prelate had been guilty of, and that he had wantonly excommunicated the criminals, Alexander was contented to punish him with a large fine, and mulcting him of the third part of his earldom. The same earl, however, next year is said to have redeemed the forfeited part of his earldom with another large sum of money; but upon his return home he was murdered, some say by his domestics, others by his enemies, and his body and house reduced to ashes.

Affairs of
Galloway.

1223.

I have more than once remarked, in writing the history of England, the difficulties attending that of Galloway, on account of its peculiar constitution. Its princes or earls had, for some years preceding 1223, lived in a good correspondence with the court of Scotland, and had been considered as its first subjects, not only on account of their great possessions, but of their enjoying the post of high constable. Alan, the last prince of Galloway, died without male issue; but left behind him three daughters. The eldest, Helen, was married to Roger de

de Quincy, earl of Winchester; Dervigild, the second, was wife to John Baliol, of Barnardcastle; and Christian, of William, earl of Albermanle. Alexander, no doubt, thought it a fortunate circumstance, that so great a fee should be divided among the several claimants; but in this he was opposed by Thomas Mac Duallen, the natural son to the last prince, who claimed the succession to the undivided fee. His pretensions were vigorously supported by the friends and tenants of his late father, who remonstrated against so noble a principality being parcelled out to foreigners, especially Englishmen; and Mac Duallen was soon in possession of all the estate. He was assisted by his father-in-law, Olave, who is called King of Man, by some of the petty Irish princes, and likewise by Sommerled, lord of Argyle. Alexander thought no time was to be lost in suppressing this dangerous rebellion; and immediately marched into Galloway at the head of an army. That of Thomas consisted of ten thousand men, but undisciplined in war, though full of spirits for action. Alexander drew up his troops in three divisions. The first was led by himself; the second by his lord high-steward and the earl of Ross; and the third by Sir Archibald Douglass. As the royal army was much better disciplined and officered than that of the rebels, half the latter were cut in pieces, and the remainder threw down their

A. D. 1223. their arms; while Thomas and Gildroth, one of his confederates, escaped into Ireland. There they were joined by some fresh auxiliaries; but when they returned to Scotland, they found their party so much dispirited, that they threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander, who pardoned them, as he likewise did Sommerled.

1226.

Alexander's
transactions
with the
English.

In 1226, Richard duke of Cornwal, we are told, paid a visit to Alexander in Scotland, with a view of marrying a princess of that royal family; but the match was opposed by Henry. That Richard might make such a visit at this time is no way improbable; but I know of no princess which Alexander had then to dispose of. The year after we find Alexander at Roxburgh, knighting John the Scot, as he is called, son to his uncle David, earl of Huntingdon. This nobleman afterwards succeeded to the great earldom of Chester. The truth is, it is difficult, at this time, to follow the history of Scotland in a regular chronological order; and therefore I am obliged, as usual, to be directed by records. From them we learn, that about the year 1235, Alexander and his queen paid a visit to Henry at London. The occasion of this visit appears from the English historians to have arisen from the fall of Hubert de Burgh, brother-in-law to Alexander. That great nobleman had been accused of having entered into several rebellious engagements with Alexander

1235.

ander against Henry. When Hubert was charged with this, he frankly acknowledged his having formed certain connections with Alexander, in order that both of them might obtain redress of the grievances they suffered from their enemies at the English court. We know of no particulars which passed at this visit, but that a negotiation was entered into between the two kings, relating probably to Alexander's claims on the northern counties. Upon his and his queen's return to Scotland, he sent deputies, who laid all his pretensions before the English parliament. Though, as usual, his demands were postponed, yet Alexander had formed close connections with Llewellyn, the Welch prince of Aberfraw, as well as with Hubert de Burgh's party; and Henry thought proper to invite him to another meeting at York.

A. D. 1235.

His differences with the king of England.

From the papers published by Mr. Rymer, it appears as if Henry, at this time, had complained to the pope of Alexander's not having performed his homage to him; for we find some letters from his holiness to that effect. When the conferences opened at York, Alexander urged his claim to the estates in question, and charged Henry to his face with having falsified the promises that had been given him, appealing to several noblemen present for the truth of what he said; and laying before him, at the same time, the several engagements that had

A.D. 1235. had been entered into by his father John, for his being put immediately into possession of the disputed counties; and likewise a formal bond for the same purpose, given by Henry, to be executed at the time of his marriage with his queen. He concluded his speech by threatening to proceed to hostilities, if satisfaction was longer delayed him. Henry, who was one of the most irresolute, pusillanimous princes that ever sat on the English throne, could not deny what Alexander advanced; but offered him a pension of eighty marks a year, according to the English historians, with which Alexander seemed satisfied, and the assembly broke quietly up. Though I have related this interview as it has come to my hand, yet it is certain, that the marks then stipulated were either of very high value, and to be paid by weight, or that there is a mistake in the sum. I am, upon the whole, inclined to believe, that the meeting broke up without any effect; and the rather, as I perceive that Henry soon after appointed another meeting at York, under the mediation of the pope's legates. There the matter was again fully debated; and it was at last agreed, that Alexander should receive out of lands in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland two hundred pounds a year; and that if the revenues of the said counties did not amount to two hundred pounds a year, exclusive of those towns which had

had castles in them, Alexander was then to receive the balance out of the adjoining countries, he paying, by way of reddendo, every year, a hawk to the constable of Carlisle. The earl of Warren was fidejussor, or guarantee, for the performance of this agreement on the part of Henry, as the earl of Menteith was on that of Alexander, who renounced all his right to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.

A. D. 1235.

On the breaking up of the conferences, the legate intimated to Alexander, that he had a commission from his holiness to pay him a visit in Scotland. Alexander, without saying any thing personally harsh to the legate, told him, that he never had seen, and that, if he could prevent it, he never would see, one of his order in Scotland; and advised him, as he tendered his own safety, not to set foot on his dominions, as he could not answer for what consequences might happen from the resentment of his subjects. Though the above fact is unquestionable, yet it is certain that several cardinals, and other Romish ecclesiastics, had been in Scotland before, but none of them with legantine powers.

He opposes
the pope's
legate.

In 1239 Otho, a new legate from Rome, having, without success, applied to an assembly of the English bishops for money, declared his intention to repair for the same purpose to Scotland. In this he was encouraged by some

1239.

A.D. 1239. of the chief English nobility, who disliked his residence in England so much, that they offered to attend him to the frontiers with their followers. Otho, thus guarded, set out for Scotland; but, before he reached it, he was met by Alexander, who told him, that he thanked God his subjects were all good Christians, and that his legateship must not think of proceeding farther. Upon this resolute speech, Otho addressed himself to his English attendants, who interceded so effectually with Alexander, that he consented to admit him, but under an express article, witnessed by all present, that the prelate's admission should not be drawn into any precedent. He accordingly proceeded into Scotland about the end of September, held a national council at Edinburgh on the nineteenth day of October, and departed in the beginning of November; so that his stay could be only for a few weeks, a proof that neither Alexander nor his subjects were fond of his presence.

Death of
the queen
of Scotland.

Before this time, the queen of England is said to have paid a visit to her sister-in-law, the queen of Scotland, who, in returning the visit, died, while she was on a pilgrimage at Canterbury. As she had no children, the crown remained unheired by Alexander. He immediately called a meeting of his states, who advised him to marry a second time; and his choice fell on the lady Mary, daughter to Egelrand de Coucy,

Coucy, one of the most powerful of the French nobility; and Alexander accordingly married her at Roxburgh. A perfect good understanding, till the Scotch queen's death, had subsisted between Alexander and Henry, from the time of their last accommodation at York. Alexander had even been entrusted with the charge of the northern English counties, either by a special commission from Henry, or, which is more probable, because they had, in fact, been mortgaged to him for the payment of his annuity, the precise value of which cannot now be ascertained. But many causes now concurred to break off their good understanding. In 1241, Alexander's young and beautiful queen was brought to bed of a son, who was christened Alexander; and at that time one Gillin, second son to the earl of Dunbar, was ambassador at the court of England; but the chief fomentor of the differences between the two kingdoms was one Walter Bisset, who, in the Scotch histories, is called lord of Aboyn. This Bisset was a man infamous for his vices and intrigues, and is noted as such in the contemporary chronicle of Peterborough. He and his followers had basely murdered Patric de Galloway, earl of Athol; and, to disguise their villainy, they had set fire to the house, and consumed the body, that the death of the young lord, who was one of the most promising noblemen in Scotland,

A. D. 1239.

Alexander
embroidered
with the
English.

1241.

A.D. 1241. land, might appear to have happened by chance, during the revels which attended a tournament held at Haddington. As intermarriages were then very frequent between the two nations, David Hastings, of a noble English family, succeeded to the earldom of Athol, in right of his mother, and to earl Patric, who had died without issue. Bisset, who was notoriously known to have been the murderer, was summoned to take his trial before the king and the states of the realm; and upon his flying from justice, he and his uncles, who had been his accomplices, were banished from Scotland, and their estates forfeited. Walter took refuge in England, where he practised upon Henry's weakness so effectually, that he prevailed upon him to send a message, demanding Alexander to do him homage.

Rymer.

It is uncertain whether this homage was required to be done for Scotland, or any part of it. I am inclined to think it was demanded for that crown itself; because it appears, by a letter from Innocent the fourth to Henry, that the latter had desired his holiness to decree that the king of Scotland, as his vassal, might not be crowned without his permission, and that he might have the levying of the clergy's tythes in Scotland; both which demands the pope refused to agree to.

Scotland, perhaps, never had been so powerful, because it never was so well united within itself,

self, as at this time. John de Coucy, brother-in-law to Alexander, was a determined enemy to the king of England, and promised to assist Alexander, in case of a breach between the two nations, with large supplies both of men and money. Alexander was personally beloved, and extremely popular in England, where Henry's person was despised, and his government detested; but Alexander raised of his own subjects an hundred thousand well armed foot, and a thousand horse. It was no wonder, if thus strengthened, he returned for answer to Henry's summons, that he was resolved not to hold a foot of land any longer in Scotland of the English crown. From this answer I am inclined to believe, that before this time the kings of Scotland had performed homage for some lands to the south of the Forth, which had formerly belonged to the Anglo-Saxons or the Anglo-Normans. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that Henry complained of Walter Cummin, and some of the Scotch noblemen, for having built two castles, one in Galloway and the other in Lothian, which last was called the Hermitage; and that Alexander had given shelter to several English rebels, who were accused of keeping up a traitorous correspondence with the French. Alexander, on the other hand, appealed to the nobility of both nations, whether he had not inviolably kept all his engagements with Henry; and had the

satisfaction

Fordun.

A. D. 1247.

satisfaction to see himself seconded by the whole body of his people, who voted him liberal supplies ; upon which, he ordered his frontiers to be fortified, and prepared to march with his army into England. Before he set out, some disturbances happened from the friends and partizans of the Biffets, who having a great estate in Ireland, and being favoured by Henry, made several piratical descents upon the coasts of Scotland, where, with the assistance of their party, they did considerable damage. To repress such invasions for the future, Alexander appointed Sir Allen Durwart, an excellent officer, his lieutenant or justiciary during his absence.

Alexander, upon his arrival near Berwic, found that by Henry's orders a new fort was building on the same scite where an old one had been erected for bridling that garrison, and which he immediately ordered to be demolished. By this time, Henry was at the head of a strong body of foreigners as well as English ; but he was attended by his great military tenants, especially his brother, the earl of Cornwal ; chiefly that they might be at hand to make remonstrances against the injustice of his cause, and to compel him to make peace with Alexander. Henry had advanced as far as Newcastle, and Alexander was lying with his army at a place called Caldwell, when the earl of Cornwal, and the archbishop of York,

un-

undertook to mediate between the two princes. A. D. 1247.
 Their negociation was successful; and Alexander engaged to give no encouragement to the An accom-
 enemies or rebels of Henry; to renew his ho- modation.
 mage to him, as his liege-lord, for the posses-
 sions he held in England; and to desist from
 all incursions upon that crown, provided he
 was not oppressed. This last was a very re-
 markable provision, and can be understood
 only of Alexander refusing to submit any of
 his independent rights to the king and parlia-
 ment of England. The treaty of York, which
 was made in presence of Otho, the pope's le-
 gate, was likewise renewed; and Henry, by
 his brother, the earl of Cornwall, swore to ob-
 serve the peace with Scotland, and not to con-
 federate with its enemies. It was agreed, at
 the same time, between both parties, that Alex-
 ander's young son and successor should marry
 the princess of England, daughter to Henry;
 a match which had been more than once men-
 tioned before, as the most effectual means for
 cementing the peace between the two king-
 doms. This agreement was the more glorious
 for Alexander, because (if we believe Matthew
 Paris) Henry intended the entire reduction of
 all Scotland, and had assembled his Flemish
 auxiliaries for that purpose. I am now to at-
 tend the internal affairs of Scotland.

We are told of an expedition which Alex- Affairs of
 ander made into Argyleshire, where he subdued Scotland.
 many

A.D. 1248. many of the rebels; but probably they are the same I have already mentioned. **Fordun.** like-
 wise mentions the Irish who invaded Galloway having been cut off by the inhabitants of Glasgow, and that Alexander ordered two of their chiefs to be torn in pieces by horses at Edinburgh. In 1248 Lewis, commonly called the Saint, king of France, sent ambassadors to Scotland, to inform Alexander, that he was about to undertake a crusade for the recovery of the Holy-Land from the Infidels; and requiring Alexander's assistance. As the nation was then in peace, and the expedition extremely popular, the proposition was agreed to; and a body of volunteers was raised, the command of which was given to Patric earl of March, David Lindsey of Glenesk, and Walter Stuart of Dundonald. The fate of that crusade is well known in history. It is sufficient to say here, that the Scots make no great figure in the authors who have treated of this expedition, which proves that they were less infected with religious frenzy than their neighbours; but scarce one of the few who went upon that crusade returned alive to their own country. Alexander did not long survive this transaction. Hearing of some commotions in Argyleshire, he went by sea to quell them; but falling sick, he was on shore on one of the islands of that coast, called Kernerey, where he died
His death,
 1249. in 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age, and
 the

the thirty-fifth of his reign, and was buried, by his own desire, at Melros. He was an amiable but a spirited prince, and seems to have been perfectly well instructed in the art of balancing parties in England, from whence he apprehended his greatest danger. He was, says Matthew Paris, deservedly and equally beloved by the English and the Scots, for his justice, piety, and good-nature. In all his expeditions, he was firm and fortunate; but he has been by Buchanan, and some other authors, accused of having suffered the great family of Cummin to obtain too great an ascendancy in his dominions. He left no other issue besides Alexander, his son and successor, by his second marriage.

A. D. 1249.
and character.

This prince was not more than nine years of age at the time of his father's death, and was crowned at Scone, with great solemnity, on the 15th day of August. Fordun mentions a dispute that happened at the time of his coronation, between Durwart, the justiciary of Scotland, and Cummin, earl of Menteith. The former insisted upon his knighting the young king before he was crowned. Menteith opposed this proposal, and had such influence in the assembly, that the king was immediately crowned, without undergoing the ceremony of knighthood. It is probable, that the earl of Menteith thought that honour too great to be conferred by any subject, and opposed it, in order to pay a compliment to the king of England. Fordun, after

Alexander
III.

very particularly specifying the manner of the king's coronation, which was performed by the bishop of St. Andrew's, tells us of a Highlander (probably one of those who went under the denomination of Sannachies) who repeated on his knees, before the throne, in his own language, the genealogy of Alexander and his ancestors, up to the first king of Scotland. The book of Paisley, in the king's library, which was given to the British Museum, and is the most authentic unpublished record of the Scotch history, says, that when the bishop of St. Andrew's crowned Alexander before the nobles of the land, he begirded him with a military belt. We are not, however, to suppose by this, that he invested him with the order of knighthood, which could be conferred only by a knight, but as an emblem of his temporal jurisdiction. The same record gives us another much more important circumstance, with regard to the same coronation, which is, that the prelate explained first in the Latin, and afterwards in the Gaelic language, the laws and oaths relating to the king, who favourably agreed to and received them all, as he joyfully did benediction and coronation from the same prelate.

Among the first acts of his reign, was the improvement of his coin; for the cross, according to Sir James Balfour, was then made to touch the uttermost point of the circle, which in his predecessors reign it did not. All perhaps

His remark ble
coron. tie 1,

haps we can infer from this circumstance, is, that the alteration was intended to prevent clipping of money. In the year 1250, the young king and his mother met at Dumfermling, where they raised the bones of the good queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm the Third, and placed them in a golden shrine, magnificently enriched with precious stones.

A. D. 1249.

1250.

Soon after, a meeting of the states was held, in which the nobility expressed an earnest desire that the match proposed between Alexander and the English princess should immediately take place. The earls of Menteith and Buchan, and the rest of the Cummins, would have gladly evaded or postponed this resolution, which they foresaw might be attended by the loss of their exorbitant power; but the assembly was so unanimous, that ambassadors were directly sent to London, to obtain a confirmation of the late peace, and to demand the king's daughter for their young master. Henry received the ambassadors with great pomp and many honours. He thought that now the time was come for acquiring the actual government of Scotland, at least during the young king's minority, which might be an introduction to his and the nation's agreeing to give up the so much disputed independency of their crown. He readily granted all their demands, and ordered some of his own nobility to return with the ambassadors to Scotland, and to carry with them safe-conducts

and marriage.

A. D. 1250. under his own, and his court of peers, hands, for Alexander and his great lords to meet him at York, by Christmas following, which was agreed to on the part of the Scots. Henry accordingly kept his Christmas at York, to which the king and queen dowager of Scotland repaired with their chief nobility. The two courts were magnificent beyond all expression, but the queen dowager outshone all the assembly in splendor. Her yearly revenues amounted to four thousand, (Paris says in another place seven thousand) marks, a sum equal to a third of those of the crown; but through the uncertain computation of the money of that time, it is impossible to ascertain its present value. According to Matthew Paris, she had beside this, received a large fortune from her father, and had returned from France, and brought in her train many of her countrymen of great distinction. Nothing could be better conducted than the accommodation of the company; for in order to prevent the brawls and bloodshed which were then so common among the retainers and servants of persons of distinction, in taking up their lodgings, the retinue of the two kings had two streets set apart for their quarters. On Christmas day, king Alexander was knighted, together with twenty young persons of distinction at the same time, who were all most magnificently dressed. Next day, the marriage-ceremony was performed with great pomp, and Alexander

A.D. 1250.

ander paid his homage to Henry for his English possessions, among which Lothian is particularly mentioned. Henry, after this, pressed his son-in-law to perform his homage for the crown of Scotland; but Alexander, who conducted himself with great sense and modesty, answered, that his business in England was matrimony; that he had come thither under Henry's protection, and by his invitation; and that he was no way prepared to answer so difficult a question.

Henry was perhaps encouraged to this request by the dissensions which then prevailed among the Scotch nobility, of which he expected to be the arbiter. Durwart was accused of having married the natural daughter of the late king Alexander, and of his having made interest at Rome to get her and her children legitimated, so as to be in a capacity to succeed to the throne. The abbot of Dumfermling, then chancellor of Scotland, was charged with having passed this legitimation under the great seal; and being conscious of his guilt, he privately left York, and returning to Scotland, surrendered the great seal to the nobility, who ordered it to be broken in pieces till a new one could be made upon the king's return; and then the chancellor being shaved, shut himself up in a religious house. He was succeeded as chancellor by Gamelin bishop of St. Andrews.

Dissensions
in Scotland

A. D. 1250.
continues.

The Cummins thought that Henry's influence over his son-in-law, and in the affairs of Scotland, was now too great; and fearing an impeachment against themselves, they withdrew from York, leaving Henry in full possession of his son-in-law's person. To shew he deserved all the confidence the Scots could repose in him, he publicly declared that he dropt all claim of superiority upon their crown; and that he would ever afterwards act as the father and guardian of his son-in-law; confirming his assurances by a charter. Upon Alexander's return to Scotland, he found his affairs had been well conducted during his absence; but, by this time, the Cummins had formed a strong party against his English connections.

They and their followers exclaimed, that Scotland was now no better than a province of England; and the following relation of this intricate affair is collected from English contemporary writers, and indisputable records. Henry had secret intelligence, that the Scotch nobility kept their king and queen as two state-prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh; upon which, the queen of England privately sent a physician, whom she could trust, to enquire into her daughter's situation. He had the address to be admitted into the company of the young queen, who gave him a most lamentable detail of her condition. She said, that the place of their confinement was unwholesome
to

Uncomfortable
state of
the king
and queen.

to the last degree; that they were debarred from seeing any company; that their health was in imminent danger; and that they had no concern in the affairs of government. The English writers leave us in the dark as to the means by which the king and queen were reduced to this dreadful situation; but the Scotch inform us, that the Cummins usurped the whole power of the state.

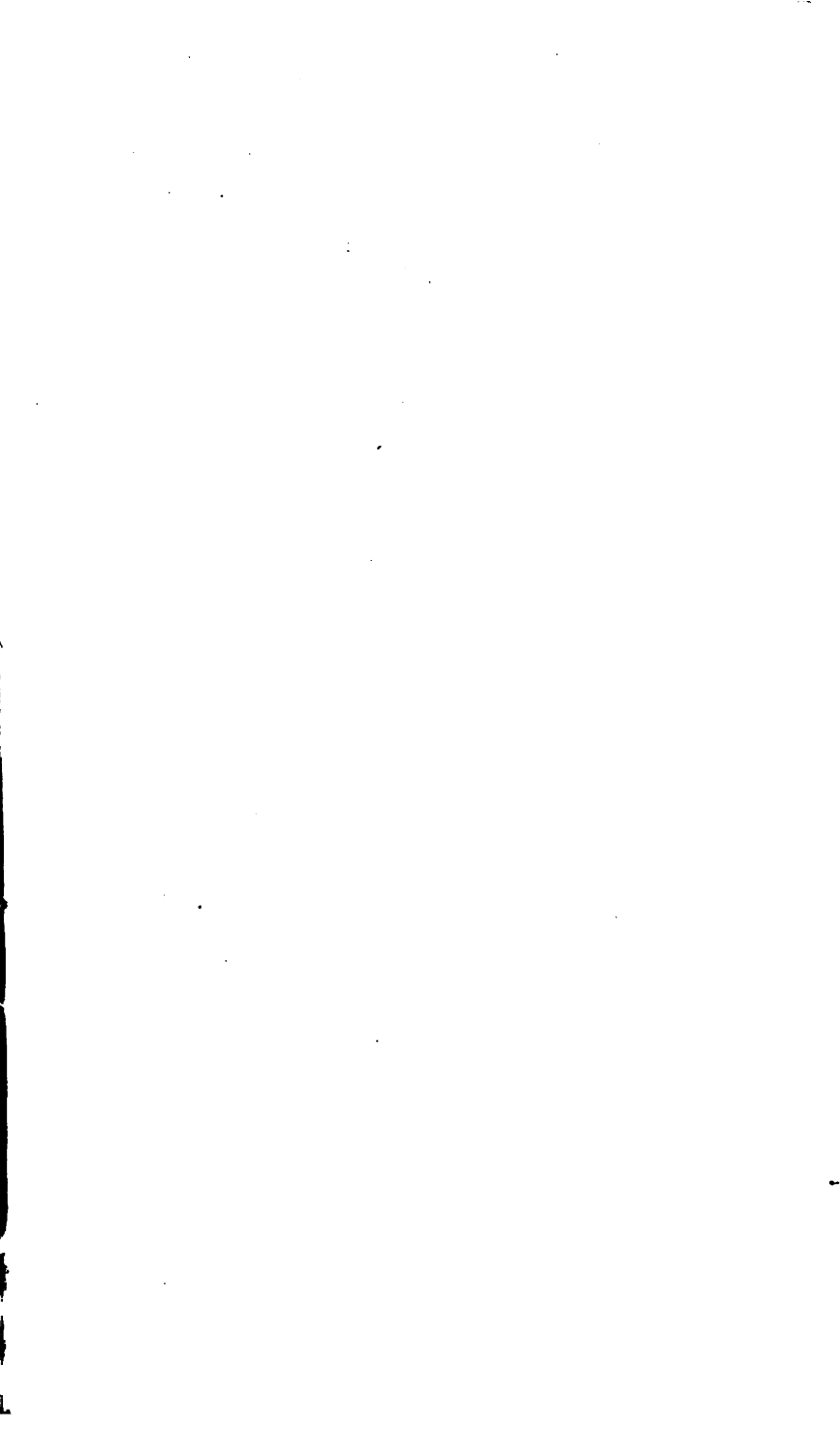
Henry, who seems to have had a sincere affection for his daughter and his son-in-law, was under difficulties how to act. On the one hand, he was afraid of their safety, if he should take violent measures; and he knew that, in such a case, the bulk of the Scotch nation would suspect that he had designs upon their independency: on the other hand, he dreaded the ambition, power, and wickedness of those who kept the royal pair in a thralldom that was dangerous to their lives; nor was he insensible that some of them had secret views upon the crown itself. By the advice of the Scotch royalists, among whom were the earls of Dunbar, Fife, Strathern, Carric, and Robert de Bruce, he proceeded in a middle, and indeed a wise, manner. He assembled his military tenants at York, from whence he himself advanced to Newcastle, where he published a manifesto, disclaiming all designs against the peace or interest of Scotland, and declaring that the forces which had repaired to York were intended to maintain

A. D. 1250.

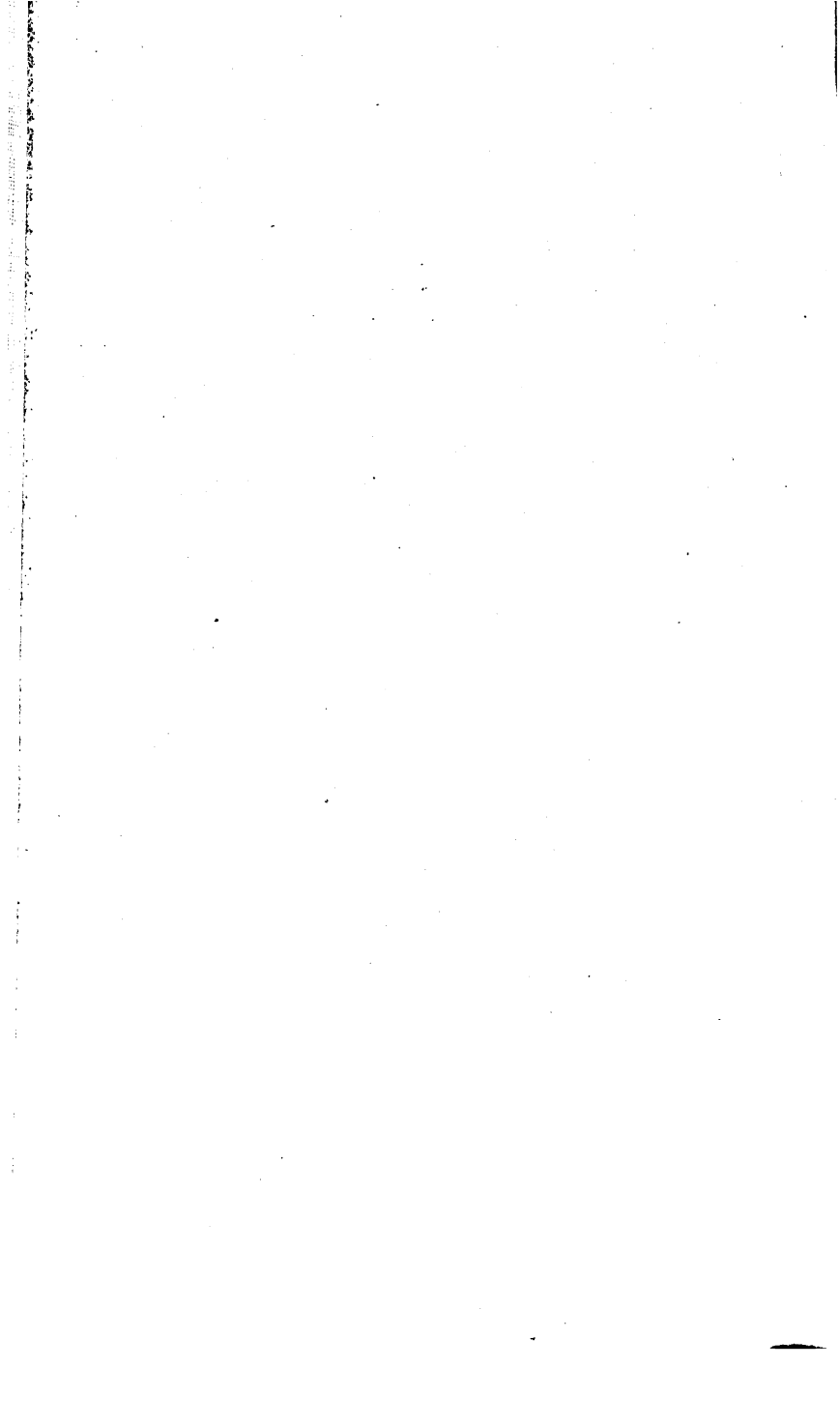
Who are
relieved by
the king of
England.

maintain both; and that all he meant was to have an interview with the king, and the queen his daughter, upon the borders. Henry proceeded from Newcastle to Wark; and from thence he privately dispatched the earl of Gloucester, with his favourite John Mansel, with a train of trusty followers, to gain admittance into the castle of Edinburgh, which was then held by John Baliol and Robert de Rofs, noblemen of great interest in England as well as Scotland. The earl and Mansel being disguised, got admittance into the castle, on pretence of their being tenants to Baliol or de Rofs; and their followers obtained access on the same account, without any suspicion, till they were numerous enough to have mastered the garrison, had they met with resistance. The queen immediately joined them, and disclosed all the thralldom and tyranny in which she and her husband were held; and, among other particulars, she declared, that she was still a virgin, as her jailors obliged her to lie in a bed apart from her husband. The English being masters of the castle, ordered the king and queen to be accommodated with one and the same bed that very night; and Henry hearing of the success of his party, sent a safe-conduct for the royal pair to meet him at Alnwick.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.









JUL 18 1952

